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AMERICANA GERMANICA



THE HARMONY SOCIETY

A CHAPTER

IN

GERMAN AMERICAN CULTURE HISTORY

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AMERICANA GERMANICA

NEW SERIES

MONOGRAPHS DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE

Literary, Linguistic and Other Cultural Relations

OF

Germany and America

EDITOR

MARION DEXTER LEARNED

University of Pennsylvania

The Harmony Society

A CHAPTER IN GERMAN AMERICAN CULTURE HISTORY.

- I. Constitution and organization.
 - II. Moral and religious views.
 - III. Harmony, Pennsylvania. 1804-1815.
 - IV. Harmony, Indiana, 1815-1825.
 - V. Economy, Pennsylvania. 1825-1868.
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PREFACE.

The materials for this account of the Harmony Society are for the most part found at Economy, Pennsylvania. They are:

1. Private correspondence. This consists of detached personal letters, to and from members of the Society, which have been preserved by the parties concerned. The earliest of these is dated 1794.

2. Business correspondence. Letters written on business by the Society from 1804 to the present time have been preserved in copy or abstract. These letters and books are neatly and systematically kept. Some of the letters received by the Society are also on file.

3. Ledgers, Sales Books, Bills of Lading Books and other account books.

4. Scattered memoranda of several of the trustees.

5. The publications of the Society.

6. Evidence and decisions in suits brought against the Society.

a. Testimony in the suit of Schreiber vs. Rapp. 1835. (In Mss.)

b. Nachtrieb vs. Harmony Society. Decision of Justice Grier in the U. S. Circuit Court. Opinion of Mr. Justice Campbell in the U. S. Supreme Court, 1856.

c. Schwartz et al vs. Duss et al. Brief on the part of the respondents, in the Circuit Court of the United States, November term, 1894. Record in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, March term, 1900. Appellee's Brief in the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1903.

7. Published articles on the history of the Society.

Of these, Williams, "The Harmony Society," 1866, is excellent. Most of the reliable information contained in other accounts is taken from this book.

PREFACE.

It is the purpose of this work to give an account of the organization of the Society, and then a narrative of the chief events in its history.

The collection of the material for this study was part of the work done in 1902, under the direction of the American Ethnographical Survey. The knowledge of the existence of manuscript sources at Economy was received from Professor Marion D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, Director of the Survey. He furnished the introduction to the Trustees of the Harmony Society and obtained permission from them to use the sources above mentioned, and directed the execution of the work.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professor Learned, for his indispensable aid in the conception and carrying out of this work; of thanking Mr. and Mrs. Duss for their courteous permission to use freely the material at Economy; Mr. Rudolf Wagner for many valuable suggestions; and Mr. Frederick Knoedler, for important assistance in the search for materials.

JOHN A. BOLE.

New York City, March 7, 1904.

The Harmony Society.

A Chapter in German American Culture History.

CHAPTER I.

Constitution and Organization of the Harmony Society.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Pietism, under Spener's personal influence, spread widely in Württemberg, Spener and his followers did not assume an attitude of opposition to the established church, but they insisted upon a more sincere and consistent religious practice. Their chief desire was to study the Bible and follow its teachings. They did this not only in the public religious services, but also in private conventicles. The private religious meeting was one of the most important elements in Pietism. Since 1680 such conventicles were established in various places in Württemberg. The established Lutheran church endeavored to suppress these private meetings. In 1707 attendance at such meetings was prohibited on pain of three months' imprisonment. This attempted repression caused the development of a radical element in Pietism, the Separatists. As their name indicates, they withdrew altogether from the established church, which was to them "Babel." The idea of a community after the pattern of the early Christians appeared in the establishment of a common treasury in the congregations of Separatists. They were also much influenced by the Mysticism of Boehme, Bengel and Jung-Stilling. (Chr. Kolb, „Württembergische Vierteljahrsschrift für Landesgeschichte," 1900, p. 75; 1901, p. 208.)

The Harmony Society, as it was organized under George Rapp, and established in America, was an outgrowth of this Separatistic movement and an attempt to put into practice, under favorable circumstances, Separatistic principles.

The constitution of the Harmony Society consists of ten written contracts or agreements made at different epochs in its history.

The 1st, 1805, made at Harmony, Butler Co., Pa.

The 2d, 1821, made at Harmony, Posey Co., Ind.

The 3d, 1827, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 4th, 1836, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 5th, 1847, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 6th, 1890, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 7th, 1892, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 8th, 1897, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 9th, 1903, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The 10th, 1903, made at Economy, Beaver Co., Pa.

The members of the Society had constituted a congregation of Separatists in Germany, where they had listened to the teaching of their pastor, George Rapp. According to his instructions, they left their homes in Würtemberg and followed him to America. They settled at Harmony and were once more under his personal care. In Germany they had endeavored to approach to the conditions of primitive Christianity. The life in the new settlement, where all lived together and worked for the common welfare, made it easy to take another step in this direction, the adoption of the community of goods.

Without election, by common consent, George Rapp had maintained himself as their leader. In order to put their Society on a firm basis, and to prevent misunderstanding, articles of association were drawn up and signed by the members on February 15, 1805. This was the date recognized as the birthday of the Society, and in after years its anniversary was celebrated as the "Harmoniefest."

The agreement contains five articles. The subscribers pledge themselves:

(1) To give absolutely all their property to George Rapp and his associates.

(2) To obey the rules and regulations of the community and to work for its welfare.



The "Great House" at Economy.



The Church at Economy.

(3) If they should desire to withdraw from the Society, not to demand any reward for labor or services.

In return, George Rapp and his associates pledge themselves:

(1) To supply the subscribers with all the necessities of life, both in health and sickness, and after their death, to provide for their families.

(2) In case of withdrawal, to return them the value of property contributed, without interest, and to give a donation in money, to such as contributed nothing.

The original of this agreement, as well as that of 1821, was in German. The following is an authorized translation:*

"Be it hereby known to all who need to know it, that the following agreement has this day been made and concluded between us, the subscribers of the one part, and George Rapp and his associates of the other part:

Article 1. We, the subscribers, on our part and on the part of our heirs and descendants, deliver up, renounce and remit all our estate and property consisting of cash, land and chattels, or whatever it may be, to George Rapp and his associates, in Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania, as a free gift or donation, for the benefit and use of the community there, and bind ourselves on our part, as well as on the part of our heirs and descendants, to make free renunciation thereof, and to leave the same at the disposal of the superintendents of the community, as if we never had nor possessed it.

Article 2. We do pledge ourselves jointly and severally to submit to the laws and regulations of the community, and to show due and ready obedience toward those who are appointed and chosen by the community as superintendents in such a manner that not only we ourselves endeavor, by the labor of our hands, to promote the good and interest of the community, but also to hold our children and families to do the same.

Article 3. If, contrary to our expectation, the case should happen, and we jointly or severally could not stand to it in the community, and we would within a few years or more break our promises and withdraw from the community, for whatever

*U. S. Circuit Court, March, 1900, Schwartz vs. Duss, Record,, Vol. 1, p. 47.

cause it may be, never to demand any reward, either for ourselves or children or those belonging to us, for any of our labors or services rendered, but whatever we jointly and severally shall or may do, we will have done as a voluntary service for our brethren.

In consideration whereof, George Rapp and his associates adopt the subscribers jointly and severally as members of the community, whereby each of them obtains the privilege to be present at each religious meeting; not only they themselves, but also their children and families, shall and will receive the same necessary instructions in church and school which are needful and requisite for their temporal good and welfare as well as eternal felicity.

Article 4. George Rapp and his associates promise to supply the subscribers jointly and severally with all the necessaries of life, as lodging, meat, drink and clothing, etc., and not only during their healthful days, but also when one or more of them become sick or otherwise unfit for labor, they shall have and enjoy the same support and maintenance as before; and if, after a short or long period, the father or mother of a family should die, or be otherwise departed from the community and leave a family behind, they shall not be left widows or orphans, but partake of the same rights and maintenance as long as they live or remain in the community, as well in sick as healthful days, the same as before, or as circumstances or necessity may require.

Article 5. And if the case should happen as stated above, that one or more of the subscribers after a short or long period, should break their promise and could or would not submit to the laws and regulations of the church or community, and for that or any other cause would leave Harmony, George Rapp and his associates promise to refund him or them, the value of his or their property brought in without interest, in one, two or three annual installments, as the sum may be, large or small; and if one or more of them were poor and brought nothing in the community, they shall, provided they depart openly and orderly, receive a donation in money, according to his or their conduct while a member, or as he or their circumstances and necessities may require, which George Rapp and his associates shall determine at his or their departure.

In confirmation whereof, both parties have signed their names.

Done in Harmony, February 15, 1805."

Under this simple constitution the Society was organized and existed until 1821. The one essential condition for the harmonious growth of the community was that of obedience to the founder, George Rapp. He was a man of force and intelligent sympathy, who inspired confidence and respect. He governed the Society kindly but firmly, by appealing to the good which he believed to exist in everyone, and by leading wrong-doers to confess to him their faults and ask forgiveness. Those who were not amenable to such treatment and who would not obey his teachings, were allowed to leave of their own accord, or they were expelled, a punishment which it was rarely necessary to employ.

Most of the original members had contributed something to the common property. Many of them had owned small estates in Germany, which they sold before leaving. Many later inherited property there which they collected as best they could through agents in Germany. In 1813 the Society received 13,539 Gulden from claims to property in Germany. In 1821 two of the members, J. L. Baker and J. Reichert, went to Germany for the purpose of taking possession of inheritances which had fallen to the members of the Society. They collected a considerable sum, 20,706 Gulden. George Rapp had brought with him 2000 Gulden of his own. Some of the original members had more than this. The richer helped to defray the expenses of the poorer in coming to America. In 1806 Peter Schreiber joined the Society, bringing to it property estimated at \$8000. He was considered one of the principle founders of the wealth of the Society.*

There was for a time dissatisfaction in regard to the community of goods, some of those who had contributed more, thinking that they deserved greater recognition. But Father Rapp's persuasion and work in common for the general welfare, soon silenced these complaints, and genuine brotherly harmony was re-established.

The number of members withdrawing from the Society was

*Testimony of Dr. Smith: Schreiber vs. Rapp.

small. From 1806-1814 twenty-three left the Society, all of whom, except four, had contributed amounts ranging from \$840 to \$1.00. According to the agreement, these contributions were returned. From 1815 to 1825 thirteen members left, three of whom had contributed a total of \$148. From 1825 to 1867, 234 members left, 33 of whom had contributed \$5,158, the largest single contribution being \$673. These were all repaid. In addition to these, in 1832, 175 members withdrew in a body with Count Leon, receiving \$117,000.

George Rapp was the acknowledged head of the Society thus constituted. His chief assistant and financial agent was his adopted son, Frederick Rapp, who carried on the business affairs of the Society in his own name.

The business of the Society was divided into departments, over each of which a superintendent was appointed. At Harmony, John L. Baker managed the store, Lewis Schreiber the cotton factory, John Schreiber the tavern. In like manner there was a superintendent of the woolen factory, the brewery, orchards, blacksmith shop, distillery, hat factory and other industries. When the manufacture of silk was begun, Miss Gertrude Rapp was made superintendent. Accounts were kept with each department. The superintendent was charged with the money and material entrusted to him, and was credited with his products. In 1854 accounts were kept with the baker, blacksmith, brewer, cloth society, cooper, cotton factory, distillery, doctor, dyer, hatter, joiner, mill, potter, sadler, saw mill, shoemaker, silk factory, soap boiler, tanner, tailor, tinner, turner, painter, wagon maker, wool factory, watchmaker, cider press, wash house and wine cellar.

Thus organized, the Society flourished until 1815, at Harmony, Pa., and then for ten years more on the Wabash, at Harmony, Indiana. Under date of January 20, 1821, a new agreement was signed. This differed from that of 1805, in being intended for new members of the Society already organized.

The obligations of the two parties to the agreement are the same as in the preceding articles. The authorized translation of these articles is:*

"Be it hereby known that to-day, '20th January, 1821,' in the

*Schwartz vs. Duss, Record, Vol. I, p. 50.

year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, the present agreement, treaty and alliance was made and concluded between us, the following persons to wit: N. N., etc., of the one part and George Rapp and his associates of the other part.

After the aforesaid persons became sufficiently acquainted with the principles, rules and regulations of the community of George Rapp and his associates, by virtue of their religious principles, they have, after long and mature reflection, out of their own free will, determined to join the community of said George Rapp and his associates, in Harmony, Posey County, State of Indiana; to that purpose the aforesaid persons bind themselves and promise solemnly by these presents, to comply with the ordinances, rules and regulations of the community, and render due obedience to the superintendents ordained by the community and to perform as much as possible all occupations and labors to which they are ordered, and help to promote the benefit, happiness and prosperity of the community. And if the case should happen that the aforesaid persons, jointly or singly, after a short or long period of time, leave the community for any cause whatever, they hereby bind themselves jointly and each for himself separately, never and in no case to bring any account, nor make any claim, either against the association or any individual member thereof, for their labor and services rendered; also, never to make any demand, ask or claim any other payment, under any name and description whatsoever, but will do and have done all things out of Christian love, for the good and benefit of the community, or else take it as a gift, if George Rapp and his associates willingly give them something.

However, George Rapp and his associates, in return, adopt the aforesaid persons into the community, whereby they obtain prerogative to partake of all meetings for divine services by which they receive in church and school the necessary instructions, requisite and needful for their temporal benefit and happiness, and eternal felicity. George Rapp and his associates bind themselves further to supply the aforesaid persons with all the wants and necessities of life, to wit: Meat, drink and clothing, etc., and indeed not only during their healthful days, but also if all or any of them get sick or otherwise infirm and un-

able to work, they shall, as long as they remain members of the community, receive and enjoy the same support as before during their better days, or as their circumstances require.

In confirmation of these presents, we, both parties, have hereunto set our hands and seals.

Done in Harmony, the day and year above stated."

When the Society had been firmly established at Economy, Pa., the articles of association were renewed and signed again by the members, March 9, 1827. To this agreement there is a preamble, which states that the community had been formed on the principles of Christian fellowship, derived from the Scriptures and including patriarchal government, and community of goods, with the sole object of fulfilling the will of God so far as possible. This agreement consists of six articles, containing the same provisions as the previous agreement, but stated rather more definitely. The following is a copy of the Articles of Association, executed at Economy, March 9th, 1827:*

"Whereas, By the favor of Divine Providence, an association, or community, has been formed by George Rapp and many others, upon the basis of Christian Fellowship, the principles of which being faithfully derived from the sacred Scriptures, include the government of the patriarchal age, united to the community of property adopted in the days of the apostles, and wherein the single object sought is to approximate, so far as human imperfection may allow, to the fulfillment of the will of God, by the exercises of those affections, and the practice of those virtues which are essential to the happiness of man in time and throughout eternity.

And whereas, It is necessary to the good order and well-being of said association that the condition of membership should be clearly understood, and that the rights, and privileges, and duties of every individual therein, should be so defined as to prevent mistake or disappointment on the one hand, and contention or disagreement on the other.

Therefore, Be it known to all whom it may concern: That we, the undersigned, citizens of Beaver County, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do severally and distinctly, each for

*Record, Vol. I, p. 52.

himself, covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said George Rapp, and his associates, as follows, to wit:

Article 1. We, the undersigned, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby give, grant, and forever convey, to the said George Rapp and his associates, and their heirs and assigns, all our property, real, personal and mixed, whether it be lands and tenements, goods and chattels, money or debts due to us, jointly or severally, in possession, or in remainder, or in reversion, or in expectancy, whatsoever or where-soever, without evasion, or qualification, or reserve, as a free gift or donation, for the benefit and use of the said association or community; and we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, to all such other acts as may be necessary to vest a perfect title to the same in the said association, and to place the said property at the full disposal of the superintendents of the said community without delay.

Article 2. We do further covenant and agree to and with the said George Rapp, and his associates, that we will severally submit faithfully to the laws and regulations of the said community, and will at all times manifest a cheerful and ready obedience toward those who are or may be appointed as superintendents thereof, holding ourselves bound to promote the interests and welfare of the said community, not only by the labor of our own hands, but also by that of our children, our families and others who are now or hereafter may be under our control.

Article 3. If, contrary to our expectations, it should so happen that we could not render the faithful obedience aforesaid, and should be induced, from that or any other cause to withdraw from the said association, then and in such case we do expressly covenant and agree to and with the said George Rapp, and with his associates, that we will never claim or demand, either for ourselves, our children, or for anyone belonging to us, directly or indirectly, any compensation, wages or reward whatever, for our or their labor, or services rendered to the said community, or to any member thereof; but whatever we or our families jointly or severally shall or may do, all shall be held and considered as a voluntary service for our brethren.

Article 4. In consideration of the premises, the said George Rapp, and his associates, do by these presents, adopt the under-

signed, jointly and severally, as members of the said community, whereby each of them obtains the privilege of being present at every religious meeting, and of receiving, not only for themselves, but also for their children and families, all such instructions in church and schools as may be reasonably required, both for their temporal good and for their eternal felicity.

Article 5. The said George Rapp and his associates further agree to supply the undersigned severally with all the necessities of life, as clothing, meat, drink, lodging, etc., for themselves and their families; and this provision is not only limited to their days of health and strength, but when any of them shall become sick, infirm, or otherwise unfit for labor, together with such medicine, care and attendance and consolation as their situation may reasonably demand. And if at any time after they have become members of the association, the father or mother of a family should die or be otherwise separated from the community, and shall leave their family behind, such family shall not be left orphans or destitute, but shall partake of the same rights or maintenance as before, so long as they remain in the association, as well in sickness as in health, and to such extent as their circumstances may require.

Article 6. And if it should happen as above mentioned, that any of the undersigned should violate his or her agreement, and would or could not submit to the laws and regulations of the church or community, and for that or any other reason should withdraw from the association, then the said George Rapp, and associates, agree to refund to him or them the value of all such property, without interest, as he or they may have brought into the community in compliance with the first article of this agreement, and the said value to be refunded in one, two or three annual installments, as the said George Rapp and his associates shall determine. And if the person or persons so withdrawing themselves were poor, and brought nothing into the community, yet if they depart openly and regularly, they shall receive a donation in money, according to the length of their stay, and to their conduct, and to such an amount as their necessities may require, in the judgment of the superintendents of the association.

In witness whereof and in testimony that the undersigned have become members of the said community, upon the condi-

tions aforesaid, they have hereunto severally and each for himself set their hands and seals, on the ninth day of March in the year 1827."

The members all signed the agreement, but it was necessary for George Rapp to use all his personal and spiritual authority to induce some of them to do so. He promised that those who signed should have their names written in the Lamb's Book of Life, and threatened that the names of those who did not, would be expunged.*

In 1835 the administrator of the estate of Peter Schreiber, who had left the Society, sued for property claimed for him as his father's heir. The suit was lost, but it led to the amendment of the articles of association. Article 6, of the agreement of 1827, provided that withdrawing members should receive the value of the property they had contributed on joining. This was now stated to be out of harmony with the principle of the community of goods and tending to implant a feeling of inequality. Accordingly, three additional articles were added to the original agreement. Article 1 provided that the aforesaid 6th Article be entirely repealed, while all the others should remain in force. Article 2, That all the property of the Society should be regarded as common indivisible stock and that each member should be regarded as having absolutely and irrevocably given all his property to the Society. Article 3 provided that no member who should withdraw from the Society, nor the heir of a member who should die, should have any claim to property donated to the Society, but that it should depend entirely on the decision of the superintendent of the Society how much money should be given in such a case. These additional articles were signed by the members on the 31st of October, 1836. They are:*

"Whereas, The Harmony Society, consisting of George Rapp and many others, now established in the town of Economy, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, did, on the 9th of March, 1827, enter into certain articles of association, of which the 6th in number, is as follows, viz:

And if it should so happen as above mentioned, that any of the undersigned should violate his or their agreement, and

*Justice Gibson's opinion, *Schreiber vs. Rapp*.

*Record I, p. 57.

would, or could not, submit to the laws and regulations of the church or community, and for that or any other cause should withdraw from this association, then the said George Rapp and his associates agree to refund to him or them the value of all such property as he or they may have brought into the community, in compliance with the first article of this agreement, the said value to be refunded without interest, in one, two or three annual installments, as the said George Rapp and his associates shall determine.

And if any person or persons so withdrawing themselves were poor, and brought nothing into the community, yet if they depart openly and regularly, they shall receive a donation in money, according to the length of their stay and to their conduct, and to such amount as their necessities may require in the judgment of the superintendents of the association.

And whereas, The provisions of the said 6th Article, though assented to at the time, manifestly depart from the great principle of a community of goods and may tend to foster and perpetuate a feeling of inequality at variance with the true spirit and objects of the association:

And whereas, The principle of restoration of property, besides its pernicious tendency, is one which cannot now be enforced with uniformity and fairness, inasmuch as the members of the association in the year 1818, under a solemn conviction of the truth of what is above recited, did destroy all record and memorial of the respective contributions up to that time:

And whereas, Continued happiness and prosperity of the association, and a more intimate knowledge of each other have removed from the minds of all members the least apprehension of injustice and bad faith:

Now, therefore, Be it known by these presents, that the undersigned, with a view to carry out fully the great principles of our union, and in consideration of the benefits to be derived therefrom, do hereby solemnly enter into covenant, and agree with each other as follows:

1st. The said 6th article is entirely annulled and made void, as if it had never existed; all others remain in full force as heretofore.

2d. All the property of the Society, real, personal and

mixed, in law or equity, and howsoever, contributed or acquired, shall be deemed, now and forever joint and indivisible stock. Each individual is to be considered to have finally and irrevocably parted with all his former contributions, whether in land, goods, money or labor; and the same rule shall apply to all future contributions whatever they may be.

3d. Should any individual withdraw from the Society, or depart this life, neither he, in the one case nor his representatives in the other, shall be entitled to demand an account of said contributions, whether in lands, goods, money or labor, or to claim anything from the Society as matter of right. But it shall be left altogether to the discretion of the superintendent, to decide whether any, and if any, what allowance shall be made to such member, or his representatives as a donation.

Invoking the blessing of God on this sacrifice of all narrow and selfish feelings to the true purposes of the association and to the advancement of our own permanent prosperity and happiness, we have signed the foregoing instrument, and affixed thereunto our respective seals, at Economy, this 31st day of October, 1836."

The articles, thus amended, placed the fortunes of the members more fully in the hands of the superintendents of the Society.

Frederick Rapp died in 1834. Prior to his death he had been the business agent of the Society, transacting all its external business. The property of the Society was held in his name. In 1825 he had signed an instrument which provided that all property held by him should be regarded as the property of the Society. After his death, the members of the Society executed, July 5, 1834, a power of attorney to George Rapp, making him the general agent of the Society, and granting him power to appoint substitutes to attend to its temporal affairs for him. On the same day he appointed Romelius L. Baker and Jacob Henrici as his substitutes.

Father Rapp in spite of his great age, still remained the real directive force of the Society. He died on August 7, 1847, at the age of ninety. His death necessitated a re-organization of the Society. It is a striking proof of the devotion of the members to the principles of the Society and of their satisfaction

with its government for so many years by its founder, that this re-organization was affected without difficulty, and that the business interests of the Society, which were now of great magnitude, were conducted successfully for many years along the lines laid down by him.

For the absolute, though just, rule of the patriarch was substituted a more representative form of government. After reciting that the death of the venerable patriarch and beloved founder and leader of the Society had made necessary the agreement upon the plan for the maintenance of the Society and the conduct of its affairs, the members agreed to the following articles:

Article 1. Reaffirmed the articles of association as adopted at Economy, March 9, 1827, and the additional articles of October 31, 1836, except in so far as they were rendered void by the death of George Rapp or by the following agreement.

Article 2. A council of elders is established to consist of nine members of the Society. The nine members to constitute the council are named.

Article 3. The duties of the council of elders are:

1. To manage the internal temporal affairs of the Society, to appoint and depose foremen for the various branches of business, and to see that the members of the Society perform the duties imposed on them.

2. To decide disputes between the members, to give advice and to give reproof when necessary.

3. To receive new members into the Society and to expel members. New members are to sign the articles of association as a proof of their membership.

4. To care for the improvement of morals and instruction of the members.

5. To appoint one or more of the members as religious teachers and leaders.

6. To depose a member of the council of elders or one of the trustees and to appoint another instead.

7. To fill all vacancies in the council of elders and in the office of trustee.

8. The agreement of six members of the council shall be regarded as the legal action of the whole council.

9. To keep a record in a record book of all important proceedings.

Article 4. Provided for a creation of a council of trustees or agents for the exclusive management of the external business and affairs of the Society; this council to consist of two persons, who must be members of the council of elders. R. L. Baker and J. Henrici were to be trustees.

Article 5. The trustees, united and separately are to have power:

1. To manage all business of the Society.
2. To make donations to withdrawing and expelled members and for such charitable and philanthropic purposes as they may think proper.
3. To, united, have the power to buy and sell real estate and to execute deeds.
4. To represent the Society in all legal matters.
5. To have authority over all property of the Society.

Article 6. All property acquired by the trustees shall be regarded as the common property of the Society.

These articles in full are:*

"Whereas, By the decree of God, the venerable patriarch and much-beloved founder and leader of the Harmony Society, George Rapp, has departed this life, whereby its members are deprived of his Christian fellowship and religious ministry, and of his superintendence in their temporal affairs, and whereas in consequence of this deeply afflicting dispensation, it has become necessary to the good order and well-being of the association that some plan should be agreed upon to regulate its future affairs, promote its general welfare and preserve and maintain it upon its original basis.

Therefore, Be it known to all whom it may concern, that we, the undersigned surviving members of the Harmony Society, and constituting the same, do severally and distinctly each for himself covenant, grant and agree to and with all the others thereof, and with those who shall hereafter become members as follows: That is to say:

*Record I, p. 61.

Article 1. We do hereby solemnly recognize, re-establish and continue the articles of our association (the sixth section excepted) entered into at Harmony on the 9th day of March, A. D., 1827, in the presence of John H. Hopkins and Charles L. Voltz, and the supplement thereto, adopted at the same place on the 31st day of October, A. D., 1836, in the presence of Charles L. Voltz and William F. Baum, except so far as the same are affected by the death of said George Rapp, or hereinafter altered or modified, and to this extent we declare the said articles to remain in full force.

Article 2. We hereby ordain and establish a Board of Elders, which shall consist of nine members of the Harmony Society and their successors, to be chosen as hereinafter provided; John Stahl, John Schaubel, Adam Nachtrieb, Matthew Scholle, Joseph Hoerule, John Eberle, Romelius L. Baker, Jacob Henrici, Jonathan Lenz shall be the first board.

Article 3. The Board of Elders shall have and exercise the following powers, to wit:

1st. To regulate and manage exclusively the internal temporal concerns of the Harmony Society; to appoint and remove superintendents in the several departments of industry; to make regulations and give orders in relation to their business operations, and generally to take care that the members perform the duties assigned to them.

2d. To determine all disputes and misunderstandings amongst the members of the Society; to advise, if necessary, reprove any member who may be in fault or found delinquent in his duty.

3d. To admit new members into the Society and to expel them therefrom. New members, when admitted, shall subscribe this agreement as the evidence of their membership, and of the rights acquired by, and the duties imposed upon them.

4th. To establish regulations for the maintenance and improvement of the morals of the Society and for the instructions of its members.

5th. To appoint one or more of its members spiritual leaders and instructors with such authority in relation to church discipline as shall be conferred by the board.

6th. To remove from the Board of Elders and to declare his seat vacated, also to remove from office either or both of the trustees hereinafter appointed for the management of the external affairs and their successors in office.

7th. To fill all vacancies in the Board of Elders occasioned by the death, resignation or removal from office of any of its members and their successors, and as often as a vacancy shall occur, to fill all vacancies in the office of trustee, when either or both of the trustees or their successors shall die, resign his office, or be removed from the same, and as often as a vacancy shall occur.

8th. The concurrence of six members of the Board of Elders shall be deemed the act of the Board and a legal exercise of any of the powers hereinbefore conferred on the said board.

9th. A record book shall be kept in which the Board of Elders shall enter all proceedings that they shall consider of sufficient importance to be preserved. In all controversies, judicial or otherwise, in which the Society or any of its members may be a party, such record shall be full and absolute evidence of the facts and proceedings therein contained and the affirmation of any Elder shall be competent evidence of the identity of the said record.

Article 4. We do further ordain and establish a Board of Trustees for the exclusive management of the external business and affairs of the Society, which board shall consist of two persons, who shall be members of the Board of Elders, and their successors who shall be appointed as hereinbefore provided. Romelius L. Baker and Jacob Henrici shall be the first Board of Trustees.

Article 5. The said trustees shall jointly and severally have and exercise the powers following, to wit:

1st. In their own names or that of either of them, or otherwise, to purchase and sell, deal, barter, exchange and traffic, make all contracts and bargains in the prosecution of the business, to invest the funds in stocks and other securities, and make transfers and assignments, to collect debts, receive and pay out moneys, settle claims, compromise disputes, institute legal proceedings, appoint and dismiss agents, clerks and attorneys in

fact, and at law, and generally to transact all the external business affairs of the Society.

2d. To make donations to seceding and excluded members and to the representatives of those who are deceased and for such benevolent and charitable purposes as they may deem prudent and fit.

3d. The said trustees shall have power jointly to purchase real estate in their names and also in their joint names to grant, bargain, sell and convey all or any of the lands and tenements now or hereafter owned by or belonging to the said Society, and for this purpose execute deeds and conveyance in fee simple or otherwise in their joint names, but the proceeds of all such sales shall be held in trust for the Society.

4th. For the purpose of providing effectual and convenient remedy in law for all injuries to the property of the said Society, real and personal, by trespass, ouster, detention, conversion or otherwise, the said trustees are hereby invested with the rights of possession, entry and action in their own names as fully and to all intents and purposes, as do and may exist in the said Society, and to effectuate this object more completely and in consideration thereof, we grant and transfer to the said trustees all such title and interest in the said property as shall be necessary therefor. The proceeds of all suits to be brought shall be in trust for the Society.

5th. The powers hereby vested in the said trustees shall extend to and embrace all the property of the said Society, real, personal and mixed, whether standing or held in the name of the late Frederick Rapp, the said George Rapp, or in any other name or form whatsoever.

Article 6. It is hereby distinctly and absolutely declared and provided that all the property, real, personal and mixed, which now or hereafter shall be held or acquired by any trustee or trustees or person under them, is and shall be deemed the common property of said Society, and each trustee now or hereafter appointed, hereby disclaims all personal interest in the present resources and future earnings of the Society, other than that of a member thereof, according to the articles of association hereby re-established and continued, and according to the present agreement.

In Witness Whereof, We, the undersigned members of the Harmony Society, who constitute the said Society, have, to these articles executed in English and in German, hereunto set our hands and seals at Economy, in Beaver County, this 12th day of August, A. D., 1847."

By these articles the government of the Society was entrusted to the two trustees, who were subject to removal by the Council of elders. The trustees were both men of high character and strong personality, who worked in thorough harmony. As a matter of fact, they dominated the council of elders. Both had had long years of training in the business of the Society under Father Rapp, Mr. Baker, from the foundation of the Society, Mr. Henrici from 1826. Since 1834 they had been the business agents. The Society was governed by them upon the principles already so thoroughly established. As the senior trustee, Mr. Baker, and after his death, Mr. Henrici, was also the religious teacher. The position which was occupied by the trustees was very similar to that which George Rapp had held. Temporal and spiritual authority was now in the hands of two persons instead of one as before. While the members of the Society, by adopting these articles had entrusted the exclusive management to the nine members of the council, two of whom were the trustees, matters of great importance were submitted to the vote of the whole Society.

Romelius L. Baker and Jacob Henrici as trustees managed the Society until January 11, 1868, when Mr. Baker died. Jonathan Lenz was appointed trustee in Mr. Baker's stead. Henrici and Lenz were the trustees until January 21, 1890, when Lenz died. The Board of Elders then appointed Ernst Wölfel trustee.

Mr. Henrici was now very old. It was rumored that the Society was financially embarrassed. Several members became dissatisfied and left. Not being satisfied with the donations given them, they threatened to bring suit for the dissolution of the Society and division of its property. Under these circumstances an agreement was entered into by the members, ratifying and confirming the previous articles of association.

After a lengthy preamble describing the organization of the

Society under the articles of 1847, the surviving members of the Society agree:

1st. That the articles of 1847 are in full force.

2d. All acts of the board of elders since that time are approved and the present Board of Elders is confirmed.

3d. All actions of the board of trustees are confirmed and approved.

4th. Appointment of Ernst Wölfel as trustee is confirmed.

This agreement is:*

“Be it known to whom it may concern, that we, the undersigned, the surviving and present members of the Harmony Society, at Economy, aforesaid, and all the present members of the Society, do severally, and each for himself, covenant, grant and agree to and with the others, and each and all the other members aforesaid, and signers hereof and with those who shall hereafter become members as follows, that is to say:

1st. We do hereby solemnly recognize, approve, reaffirm and continue the articles of agreement and compact of the Harmony Society entered into at Economy, on the 12th day of August, 1847, and recorded in the Recorder’s office of Beaver County, as set forth in the preamble hereto and declare the same to be in full force, as a whole and all parts thereof, including the agreements and compacts mentioned and designated in the first article thereof, as fully and to the same extent as said mentioned agreements were recognized and established by said first article.

2. We do hereby approve and confirm any and all acts, matters and things done and transacted by the Board of Elders of the Harmony Society, as the same was from time to time constituted, since the date of the articles aforesaid, establishing said board, and we hereby ratify and confirm the appointment of the present Board of Elders, to wit: Jacob Henrici, Ernst Wölfel, Michael Staib, Johannes Scheid, Moritz Frederick, Gottfried Lauppe, Jacob Niclaus, Herman Fishern and John S. Duss.

3d. We do also hereby approve, ratify and confirm all acts, matters and things done, transacted and performed by the Board of Trustees of the Harmony Society, constituted first, of Rome-

*Record I, p. 71.

lius L. Baker and Jacob Henrici, until January 11th, 1868; afterwards, and from that date until January 21, 1890, of Jacob Henrici and Jonathan Lenz, and since the last mentioned date, of Jacob Henrici and Ernst Wölfel, hereby ratifying, confirming, holding, declaring as good and effectual in law and in equity, all acts, matters and things done, transacted and performed by each and all of said trustees in the purchase and sale of personal property, and in the making of contracts, investments of funds, purchase, sale and transfer of stocks, bonds and other securities, loaning or borrowing money, collection and payment of moneys, in the institution and prosecution of legal proceedings, in the employment and discharge of attorneys in fact and at law, in the making of donations, in the purchase of real estate, and in the sale thereof, in the execution and delivery of deeds, conveyances, transfers and assignments, whether of and pertaining to real or personal property, in the execution or delivery of notes or obligations of any kind, and generally all acts heretofore done by said trustees, in the conducting, managing and transacting of the business of the Society, and whether done by said trustees or either of them, severally and in his own name as trustee, or jointly in the joint names of himself and his co-trustee.

4th. We do also hereby approve and confirm the acts of the Board of Elders in the appointment of Ernst Wölfel, as co-trustee with Jacob Henrici and declare said Jacob Henrici and Ernst Wölfel, the present Board of Trustees, authorized and empowered to do, perform and transact any and all business of the Society, and to the full extent of the powers and authorities mentioned and designated in and conferred on the Board of Trustees, in and by the articles hereinbefore mentioned, made and entered into August 12th, 1847, and recorded as aforesaid."

The troubles of the Society increased. Mr. Wölfel died and Mr. John S. Duss was appointed co-trustee with Mr. Henrici. It became necessary to sell some of their land and to borrow some money to meet obligations. In December, 1892, the articles of 1847 and 1890 were ratified by the surviving 35 members. Explicit powers were conferred on the trustees Henrici and Duss to sell all lands of the Society, to borrow such sums

of money as they might deem advisable, and to execute all legal instruments, jointly or separately. This agreement in full is:*

"Whereas, The undersigned, being all the members of the Harmony Society, at Economy, Beaver County, State of Pennsylvania, deem it proper and desirable that there should be some suitable, proper and certain evidence of membership in said Society, and that the rights and powers of said Society should be more clearly defined and understood;

Now therefore, While we do hereby ratify and confirm the Articles of Agreement entered into at Economy on the 12th day of August, 1847, and those of April 30th, 1890, confirmatory of the former and ratifying the acts of the Boards of Elders and Boards of Trustees, both of which Articles of Agreement are recorded in the Recorder's Office of Beaver County, and are hereby reaffirmed, we and each of us, present members of the said Harmony Society, do hereby state and declare that this declaration, agreement and grant of power is, and is to be taken and considered, as supplementary to the agreements, compacts and articles above mentioned, to wit:

1st. The present members of this Society and association are Jacob Henrici, John S. Duss, J. Jacob Niclaus, Moritz J. Fredericks, Gottfried Lauppe, Johannes Scheid, Franz Gillman, Hugo Miller, Conrad Hermansdörfer, Julius Stickel, Edward Killerman, Henry Feucht, B. Feucht, Blasius Platz, Sigmund Stiefvater, Regina Lautenschlager, Christina Rall, Karoline Molt, Katharina Nagel, Elizabeth Beck, Lena Rall, Thirza Feucht, Rebecca Feucht, Margareth Feucht, Christine Hörer, Susie C. Duss, Bertha Geratch, Pauline Stickel, Johanna Hermansdörfer, Maria Diem, Dorothe Höhr, Philipina L. Wolf-angle, Gottlieb Riethmüller, Samuel Sieber and Elizabeth Sieber, and no other person or persons than those above named is a member thereof, and that for the future it is agreed that before any person can become a member of the Harmony Society, he or she shall sign or make his or her mark to his or her name on the roll of membership, which shall always be kept in the record book of the Society, which book was established by the aforesaid Agreement of 1847, and is the same in which are en-

*Record I, p. 74.

tered copies of said articles above mentioned, and shall also sign a written agreement in said book binding himself or herself to the observance and performance of all and singular the declarations, stipulations and agreements of the members of the Society as contained in the several written articles above mentioned and in these articles, and the book aforesaid containing said roll of membership shall be the sole and exclusive proof of membership in the Society.

2d. It is hereby declared and agreed that the present Board of Elders of said Society are Jacob Henrici, John S. Duss, Johannes Scheid, Gottfried Lauppe, Moritz J. Fredericks, J. Jacob Niclaus, Conrad Hermansdörfer, Hugo Miller and Gottlieb Riethmüller; and the present Board of Trustees of said Society are Jacob Henrici and John S. Duss. And we do hereby grant and assign to said Trustees and their successors, and do hereby agree and declare that the legal title to any and all the property, real and personal, owned or possessed by said society, wherever the same is situated or found, is, and is to be taken and considered as fully vested in said Trustees, Jacob Henrici and John S. Duss, above named, and held by them in trust for the Society, but with full and complete power and authority in said Trustees, their survivor and successors, at such time or times as they may deem advisable, and for the best interests of the Society to sell and dispose of same, or any part or parcel of the same, and for this purpose to make assignments or bills of sale of said personal estate, and to execute and deliver deeds in fee simple, or for any less estate, for any or all real estate thus sold. This declaration and power to apply to and embrace any and all lands wherever situated now or hereafter belonging to said Harmony Society, or held in trust for said Society, the title to which may be, or stand, in the name of Frederick Rapp, or George Rapp, or of R. L. Baker and Jacob Henrici, Trustees; Jacob Henrici and Jonathan Lenz, Trustees; Jacob Henrici and Ernst Wölfel, Trustees; Jacob Henrici and John S. Duss, Trustees; or any or either of them and their successors, and Board of Trustees hereafter appointed.

3d. To remove any possible doubt or misunderstanding as to their right and power in reference thereto, we hereby give and grant to said Trustees above named, Jacob Henrici and

John S. Duss, and to either of them and their survivor and successors, full power, from time to time, and at such times as they or either of them may deem for the true interest of the Society to borrow such sum or sums of money for such length of time, at such rates of interest and upon such other terms as the said trustees, or either of them, or their survivor or successors, may deem advisable; and jointly or severally to give notes, bills of exchange, bonds, due bills or other evidences of debt therefor, and to secure such loan or loans of money, bonds, notes, due bills or any other evidences of debt by pledge or assignment of any stocks, bonds or other personal property of any kind now belonging, or that may hereafter belong to said Society, and by mortgage or mortgages upon, or deeds of trust of, all or any part of the real estate and leaseholds of real property, which said Society now own or possess, or hereafter may own or possess, and for this purpose the said Trustees, above named, or either of them, their survivor or successors, shall have full power and authority to make, execute and deliver any and all such instruments and conveyances as may, in their judgment, be reasonably necessary to enable them, or either of them, to carry the foregoing powers into full effect.

And in execution of any instruments or conveyances in writing or otherwise that may be or so become reasonably necessary in the exercise or execution of any of the powers hereinbefore granted, either of said Trustees, their survivor or successors may execute the same, and for that purpose may sign the joint names of said Trustees, as in the following form: "Jacob Henrici and John S. Duss, Trustees," or "Henrici and Duss, Trustees," by (name of Trustee executing) "Trustee."

Mr. Henrici died December 25th, 1892. Mr. Duss became senior Trustee, and on December 27, 1892, Samuel Sieber was appointed his colleague. Mr. Sieber withdrew July 6, 1893, from the Society, and then Gottlieb Riethmüller became junior Trustee. Mr. Riethmüller died February 10, 1897. By an agreement entered into February 13, 1897, Mr. Duss, the surviving trustee, was made sole trustee and endowed with all the powers previously conferred on the Board of Trustees. This article is:

"Whereas, since 1847, the Board of Trustees of the Har-

mony Society has consisted of two members, and for some time past John S. Duss has been senior Trustee and Gottlieb Riethmüller has been junior Trustee, and

Whereas, The said Gottlieb Riethmüller died on the tenth day of February, A. D., 1897, leaving the said John S. Duss as sole surviving Trustee.

We, the undersigned, being all the members of and constituting the Harmony Society, do hereby ratify and confirm our Articles of Association dated August 12, 1847, and also those dated April 30, 1890, and those dated December 23, 1892, except that from this date our Board of Trustees shall consist of one member only, and to the said sole Trustee, for the time being, we do hereby give, grant, convey and confer each and every power, privilege, right and discretion, and also all the property, real, personal and mixed heretofore given, granted, conveyed to or conferred upon the said Board of Trustees or either or both of the said Trustees by the said recited agreements of 1847, 1890 and 1892, or which in any way whatever may have been obtained, or procured or purchased by the said Trustees or either of them while acting in such capacity. Such sole Trustee shall, however, and he does by the acceptance of the office of Trustee, assume the duties, trusts and obligations imposed upon the said Board of Trustees by the said recited agreements.

And we do hereby nominate and appoint John S. Duss, our present senior Trustee, to be such sole Trustee.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this thirteenth day of February, A. D., 1897."

(Signed by ten members.)

In 1894 suit was brought against the Society by certain persons who demanded its dissolution. After years of litigation, the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1902, rejected the suit, deciding in the favor of the Society. April 16, 1903, the members reaffirm the existence of the Society as such, ratify all the former articles of agreement, approve of the acts of Mr. Duss, as Trustee, and provide that the Board of Elders shall in the future consist of two members only. This agreement is as follows:

"Whereas, on the 30th day of April, 1890, the then members

of the Harmony Society executed a certain article of agreement of ratification and confirmation, whereby they reaffirmed and re-adopted the contracts of membership theretofore existing between said members, and which fixed the rights and duties and obligations of the several members of the said Society, and also ratifying and confirming each and every act, matter and thing which had been done and transacted for and on behalf of the said Society by its Board of Elders and by its Board of Trustees, as the said several boards had from time to time been constituted prior to the said 30th day of April, 1890, which said article of agreement is recorded in the office for recording deeds, etc., for the County of Beaver, in Deed Book, Vol. 125, page 415, and

Whereas, subsequently, to wit: on the 13th day of February, 1897, by reason of divers changes in membership and the deaths of divers members, it became advisable to modify said Articles of Agreement so that the powers, rights and duties theretofore vested in and exercised and performed by the Board of Trustees, should be vested in a sole Trustee, and John S. Duss was duly declared that sole Trustee; and

Whereas, Since the execution of said articles of ratification and confirmation on the 30th day of April, 1890, the said Harmony Society has been involved in long and serious litigation, which has terminated under a decree of the Supreme Court of the United States in a manner favorable to and upholding the rights of the said Society, and during that period by reason of said litigation, and otherwise, it has been necessary for the Trustees and Trustee to negotiate divers sales of property, real and personal, and purchases thereof, and to borrow divers sums of money and make payment thereof, and to make settlements with divers parties sustaining business relations with said Society, and

Whereas, By reason of death, the membership of said Society has been reduced to eight members, viz: Karoline Molt, Katharine Nagle, Johanna Hermansdörfer, Christina Rall, Barbara Bösch, Franz Gillman, John S. Duss and Susie C. Duss, wherefore it has become advisable to further alter and add to the said articles of agreement, and

Whereas, There have been read over and fully explained to

said Harmony Society, and each of its members, the accounts of the said John S. Duss, as Trustee, from the time of his appointment to this date, said accounts showing on their face all the money and property acquired by said Duss, as Trustee, and all moneys and property by him paid, sold out or conveyed; and there has also been explained and made fully known to us the present financial condition of said Society, and what its assets and property consist of, and what its debts and liabilities are;

Now, therefore, Be it known to whom it may concern, that we, the undersigned and surviving and present members of the Harmony Society, do severally and each for himself or herself covenant, grant and agree to and with the others and each and all of the others as aforesaid, the signers thereof, and with those who shall become members hereafter, as follows:

1st. We do hereby expressly affirm and declare the existence of the Harmony Society as a society.

2d. We do hereby approve, ratify and confirm each and all of the several articles of agreement and compacts heretofore executed by the Harmony Society, including that executed on the 13th day of February, 1897, excepting the sixth clause of the article of agreement executed on the ninth day of March, A. D., 1827 (the said sixth clause having been annulled and abrogated by an agreement executed on the thirty-first day of October, 1836), and we do declare that the said several agreements (excepting the said sixth clause) are in full force and effect and constitute the contract of membership by which the several rights, duties and obligations of the members of our Society are to be determined, except in so far as the said articles are hereinafter modified.

3d. We do hereby approve, ratify and confirm any and all acts, matters and things done and transacted by the Board of Elders, as the same has been constituted prior to the date hereof, whether the said Board has consisted at any time of the entire number of members fixed by the several articles of agreement herein above ratified and confirmed or of a less number.

4th. We do hereby approve, ratify and confirm each and all of the acts, matters and things done and transacted and performed by the Board of trustees, as the same was constituted prior to the 13th day of February, 1897, and as the same has

been constituted since that date, consisting of John S. Duss, as sole Trustee, and including herein all matters directly or indirectly connected with the litigation of the Society, the adjustment and settlement of its several liabilities growing out of any business transaction or business enterprises in which the said Society has at any time been interested. And we further ratify, approve and confirm in every respect, all the items and the whole of the said accounts of the said John S. Duss, Trustee, and each and every act of his in reference to the assets, property and business of the Society.

5th. From and after the execution hereof the Board of Elders of the Harmony Society shall consist of two members and their successors chosen in the manner provided by the articles of agreement hereinbefore ratified and approved, and from and after the date hereof the said Board of Elders shall be John S. Duss and Franz Gillman.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 16th day of April, A. D., 1903, as members of and constituting said Harmony Society, and also as the members of and constituting the Board of Elders of said Society."

(Signed by eight members.)

May 12, 1903, Mr. Duss, the sole trustee, resigned his office and withdrew from the Society. The same day his wife, Mrs. Susie C. Duss, was chosen sole trustee in his stead. The members of the Society, now only four in number, made the following agreement:

"Whereas, on the twelfth day of May, 1903, John S. Duss, sole Trustee of the Harmony Society, at Economy, did resign his trust, which resignation was duly accepted, he having on the same day withdrawn from fellowship in said Society, whereupon, upon due consideration, and in pursuance of the power in them vested, the Board of Elders did constitute Susie C. Duss the successor in trust of the said John S. Duss, as sole Trustee of the said Harmony Society, at Economy, and it is proper that sufficient evidence of such appointment and of the acceptance of the trust thereunder be entered of record in the office of the Recorder of Deeds in and for said County of Beaver, in which



A MEMBER OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY.

County most of the lands of said Society are situate, and in such other places as the business of the Society may require.

Now, therefore, It is hereby witnessed that Franz Gillman and Susie C. Duss, the now members of the Board of Elders of the Harmony Society, in pursuance of the power in them vested by and under the several agreements and contracts existing between the members of said Society, do hereby make, constitute and appoint Susie C. Duss, a member of said Society and of the Board of Elders, sole Trustee of the said Society.

To have, hold and exercise all the rights and powers conferred and to discharge and perform all and singular the duties imposed upon and required of such sole Trustee in and by the several articles of association and compacts of the members of said Society, as executed and adopted by them and recorded in the Recorder's office of Beaver County.

And Christina Schöнемann Rall and Barbara Bösch, who, with the said Franz Gillman and Susie C. Duss, are the now members of said Society and constitute the same, do hereby unite herein for the purpose of signifying their approval of the appointment of the said Susie C. Duss as hereinabove set forth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this twelfth day of May, A. D., 1903."

(Four signatures.)

The members of the Society numbered in

1814	421
1815	419
1827	522
1832	357
1834	403
1836	391
1844, 170 men and 215 women,	385
1846	321
1847	288
1864	170
1865	155
1866	146
1879	70

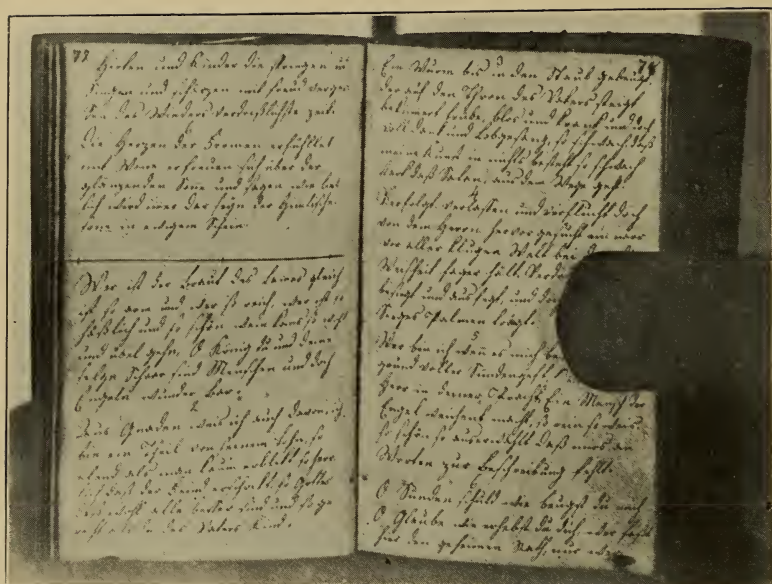
„Heute, den 9. Februar 1853, habe ich mich der Harmonie Gesellschaft freiwillig entzogen, und habe aufgehört ein Mitglied davon zu sein. Ich habe auch von R. L. Baker, Trustee, erhalten \$50 in Geld, nebst Bett und Kleider und Kleiderschrank usw. als ein Geschenk laut dem Kontrakt, welches in voll ist für alle Ansprüche, an besagte Gesellschaft oder einiges Mitglied davon, es sei an Geld oder Güter.“

LENA RALL.

In many cases these persons were admitted to the Society again, perhaps after raising a family. Lena Rall returned.

The Society also took boys and girls as apprentices, keeping them until they were of age, teaching them a trade and giving them an education. Such apprentices were bound by regular articles.

On becoming of age, each boy was given \$200, and each girl \$100.



MANUSCRIPT HYMN BOOK.

CHAPTER II.

Moral and Religious Views.

The Harmonists had left Germany to escape religious persecution. The sufferings they had endured and the privations of the long journey to their new home, had intensified their religious feelings. United in a strange land under their old pastor, religion and brotherly love were the controlling motives of their lives. After a day of work in clearing the forest and building their town, the new settlers always assembled in the evening in the house and yard of their pastor for prayers before going to bed.*

They believed that they had formed their Society under the special guidance of God, whose kingdom was near at hand, and that life in their Society, as they planned it, was the best preparation for this kingdom. From their life of brotherly harmony to the kingdom of Christ would be an easy transition. Therefore they sacrificed all selfish interests to the welfare of the whole, each devoting himself to the service of the others. George Rapp had a sublime faith in the importance of the movement which he had inaugurated. March 24, 1810, he wrote to Frederick Rapp:

„Werde nicht verdriesslich und ohngelassen der Gemeinde zu dienen; es werden dir wohl manche ungereimte Dinge in Weg kommen, aber du kannst viel tragen um der Hoffnung des Reichs

*George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, September 4, 1805.

Gottes willen. Glaube es, wir sind zu nichts anders bestimmt als der Gemeinde zu dienen, und das all unser Lebtage, das End vor unsern Ordensmeister macht dir alles leicht. Ich bin alle Tage gewisser der grossen Bestimmung des Plans vom Reich Gottes in unserm Zeitpunkt; der Spiritus Mundi hatte uns lange unter sich, und hielt uns arm und gering genug, wir werden durch die Gunst Gottes Herr über dies Alles. Gott ist mit uns, und Christus hat uns lieb, der Himmel würrt mit uns, ich bin munter in meinem Gemüthe, und bin heiter.“

Their desire to serve others was not limited to the members of their Society. They wished to be useful to mankind. January 23, 1879, Frederick Rapp wrote:

“The progress of our improvement is such as becomes people who wish to be useful to mankind, and join their efforts to make one another happy, and all those who wish to partake of their felicity.”

At the same time they were striving for a purer personal life. Newly arrived German immigrants they found tainted with immorality of the kinds prevailing in Germany. George Rapp writes:

„Ich wünsche keineswegs in Zukunft mehr Leute von Europa hieher zu bringen. Sie sind alle zu verdorben.“*

Animated by this spirit of pure religion and self-sacrifice, and working obediently under the wise direction of their superintendents, George and Frederick Rapp, the Society increased rapidly in wealth and harmony. May 29, 1823, Frederick Rapp could write to Samuel Patterson:

“My father well and active, although advanced in years. The Society is prospering externally and internally. We live in peace and unity which gradually binds us faster and faster into one body, whereof one member renders to another the necessary assistance, which facilitates the toils of life in great measure.”

Their leader, too, was satisfied with the conduct of the members:

„Es geht hier, wie gewöhnlich, alles seinen Gang, und das

* George Rapp, April 10, 1819, in a letter to J. Boller.

Reich des Friedens nimmt seinen Weg zum grossen Ziel, alles ist thätig hier, jedes erfüllt seine Pflichten, dass ich nicht zu klagen habe.“*

In a letter written to his community from Economy, June 7, 1824, where George Rapp was founding a new settlement, he urges his followers to devotion to the welfare of the whole, as the most essential of all duties. He had just landed at Economy, which he said was „der gesündeste Platz in ganz Amerika.“

„Was wir thun, das thun wir für euch, und was ihr thut, das thut ihr für uns, also sollte man denken, die Liebeswerke zu üben für das Beste und Wohl zum ganzen Bruderverein könnte unmöglich lange Weile oder Ungeduld verursachen.

Alles also wird gut gehen bei uns und euch so lange Interesse für das Ganze lebt, denn dem redlichen in seinem Fach vergibt der Herr tausend Uebertretungen, und so verliert man niemals die Bruderliebe, also auch nicht Gott; und so ritteriert euch vor den Versuchungen des Feindes und der Welt, dass ein jeder von euch seinen Pfosten bewacht und erhält, bei dem ich euch verlassen habe, bei meinem Abschied, damit meine Freude an euch keinen Abbruch leide, sondern mit freudigem Geist, euch vor das Angesicht Jesu Christi tragen darf in meinem Gebet, und mit Danksagung der Barmherzigkeit Gottes des Vaters seinen Namen verherrlichen darf, indem das Gnadenwerk des heiligen Geistes sich täglich beweiset an seiner Gemeinde; die er für ihn selbst aus der Welt erwählt, seinen grossen Namen an ihr zu verherrlichen, darzu wir alle bereitwillig sind, dass sein Wille geschehe auf Erden wie im Himmel.“

The Harmony Society was not, and never became, a proselyting society. Religious principles were expounded and taught to them by their pastor. The only way in which they sought to influence the outside world was by an industrious, unselfish life, consistent with the principles they professed. But the success of their enterprise attracted the attention of persons who were interested in communistic societies. In answer to an inquiry from Samuel Worcester, of Boston, Mass., George and Frederick Rapp gave an account of the state of the Society and its principles and practices. This important letter in full is:

* George Rapp to Frederick Rapp, April 18, 1823.

Harmonie, den 9. Oktober 1822.

SAMUEL WORCESTER:

Werther Herr:

Ihr Schreiben vom letzten 23ten May ist schon vor geraumer Zeit zu handen kommen, aus welchem wir ersehen dass unsere Gemeinschaft mehrere Ihrer Mitbürger aufmerksam gemacht, und den Wunsch erregt hat, mehrere solche Gesellschaften nach dem Plan der hiesigen errichtet zu sehen usf., hauptsächlich aber zu wissen wünschen, ob noch die nemliche Einigkeit unter uns exestiere, wie vor zwölf Jahr, da Mr. Melish, von Philadelphia, uns in Pennsylvania besuchte.

Ueber welches Sie berichte, dass es uns freut zu vernehmen, dass noch Leute in Ihrer Stadt und besonders in Ihrer Gesellschaft gefunden werden, welche über den Zustand der jetzigen Welt mit allen darin befindlichen politischen sowohl als religiösen Gesellschaften nachdenken, und ohne Zweifel sehen werden, dass dieser Zeitpunkt alles in seiner Grundveste erschüttert hat; wie alle Königreiche und Staaten zittern und beben; auch alle religiösen Gesellschaften, Sekten und Parteien keinen vesten Halt auf ihren alten Systemen und Formen, nach welchen sie sich gebildet, mehr haben; und wie im ganzen das moralische und Sittenverderben in allen Ständen so tief eingedrungen, dass die mehreste Menschen gesetz- und gewissenlos worden sind, und noch nach äusserer Ordnung, noch nach Ausübung der wahren Christlichen Religion etwas fragen, (ob sie gleich jederzeit die besten Menschen gebildet hat), sondern überlassen sich den Trieben ihrer Wollüsten, welche die Grenzen ihrer Bedürfnisse schon lange überschritten haben, und doch nicht gesättigt sind, sonst wäre nicht so viel Klagens fast bei allen Klassen der Menschen, über harte Zeit, Geldmangel und dergleichen.

Von allen diesen Uebeln und Plagen weist die Harmonie nichts; sie hat schon vor achtzehn Jahren den Grund und Boden zu einer neuen Zeitperiode gelegt, und zwar nach der Originalmuster der ersten Kirche nach Apostel-Geschichte am 2ten und 4ten Kap., und unterdessen haben wir, obwohl unbekannt und mit Schmach und Verachtung bedeckt, dennoch glücklich und in Frieden gelebt, denn unsere Einigkeit sowohl leiblich als geistlich ist alle Jahr völliger worden; so dass gegen-

wärtig unsere Gemeinschaft als erprobt auf ihrem Felsen der Wahrheit fest und unerschütterlich steht; denn die Welt und Hölle wird wenig Mittel mehr übrig haben, die sie nicht schon an der Harmonie versucht haben, doch steht sie noch und wird sich auch wohl behaupten; denn die Stärke des Glaubens, die bis ins Geistesreich eindringt, wird wohl auch den erreichen, dem alle Gewalt gegeben ist im Himmel und auf Erden. Er wird gewiss Interesse genug haben, die Anstalten seines so nahen Königreichs zu befördern, wo er Leuthe dazu findet, und davon ist die Harmonie in einem grossen Grade eingenommen, denn die Zeichen der Zeit, darauf uns die Schrift weiset, lassen uns genug ahnden dass die Zukunft des Herrn nicht mehr fern ist. Auch in weltlicher Hinsicht ist unser Fleiss und Arbeit reichlich gesegnet; wir haben in nichts Mangel, wir bauen und pflanzen aller Arten Früchten im Ueberfluss, unsere Obstgärten, welche mit den besten Gattungen aller Arten Bäumen besetzt, sind sehr ergiebig; für Weinbau ist es hier noch etwas besser als in Pennsylvania, doch bei weitem nicht wie in den alten Ländern; auch für Kleider und sonstige Bedürfnisse bauen und pflanzen wir die mehreste der rohen Materialien, als Flax, Hanf, Wolle und Baumwolle, und fabrizieren es zu mancherlei Arten Stoff, so wie das Klima in dieser Landschaft erfordert, so dass wir lauter selbstgemachte Kleider tragen, und nichts vom Ausland brauchen. Unsere Manufakturen und Machineries sind um ein beträchtliches vermehrt worden, seitdem Mr. Melish bei uns war, nur schade dass die mehreste Amerikaner so wenig Nationalgeist haben, und ausländische Waaren denen heimgemachten vorziehen.

Wir können Sie weder auf ein Buch verweisen noch ein Pamphlet schicken, welches Nachricht von uns und unseren Grundsätzen und Einrichtungen gäbe, indem wir weder eine Constitution noch sonstige Gesetzformeln für die Organisirung unserer Gesellschaft weder geschrieben noch gedruckt haben, sondern fanden bloss für nötig mit Neukommenden eine Art Agreement zu machen, damit sie uns (im Falle sie die gegebene Probezeit nicht bestehen, oder hernach, wenn sie in die Gemeinde aufgenommen, sich nicht zu einem christlichen Wandel bilden lassen

und deshalb wieder abziehen), keinen Trubel für Lohn, oder sonstige Ausbrüche machen können.

In einer religiösen Gesellschaft, wie die Harmonie, ist es leicht, Verbrechen zu bestrafen; es erfordert aber hauptsächlich einen Mann als Vorsteher, welcher der Religion Jesu redlich und mit voller Wärme zugethan ist, der Gewicht und Geist genug hat andere zu begeistern, und ein zartes Gefühl Recht und Unrecht zu unterscheiden, um der Wahrheit den Beifall und das Uebergewicht zu geben, und weil der moralische Werth von Recht und Unrecht schon jedem Menschen in seiner Schöpfung eingepflanzt worden, so ist weiter nichts zu thun, als das innere Gefühl zu öffnen und offen zu halten; so gibt es sich von selbst, dass diejenigen, welche des Lichtes fähig sind, selbst der Tugend und eines gottseligen Wandels sich bestreben, und wenn sie aus Unvorsichtigkeit gegen die Wahrheit handeln und Sünden oder Irrthümer begehen, so schämen sie sich selbst und bekennen es dem Vorsteher, widerrufen und bereuen es innerlich, und befehligen sich der Besserung, und werden nach und nach gut; und die anderen, welche des Lichts und der Wahrheit nicht fähig sind, die verstecken und verbergen ihre Sünden und Verbrechen, und gehen nicht selber an das Licht, und wenn sie von anderen entdeckt und ihre böse Werke bestraft werden, so werden sie böse und werden es nicht leiden, und weil kein Heuchler hier bestehen kann, so entfernen sie sich selbst von der Gemeinde, bald oder später, und fliehen in die grosse Welt, wo ihre böse Werke nicht bestraft werden; und auf diese Art bleibt unsere Gemeinde lauter, ohne dass wir Zwang oder Strenge brauchen, sondern wird alles christlich regirt und betrieben, nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks. Und wir glauben auch gewiss, dass das nahe einbrechende Reich Jesu Christi eben so und nicht anders regirt und fortgeführt werden wird, sowohl hier auf Erden als auch im Geisterreich, und zwar alles menschlich, bis kein Wahrheits- und Jesus-Feind mehr sein wird, welches uns die Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments hinlänglich sagen, sowie auch manche andere Wahrheitszeugen, davon auch Schwedenborg einer ist, welches es in seiner Schriften mehrmals bezeugte.

Es ist in unserer Gemeinde nicht schwer dem Müssigang vorzubeugen, obgleich die Menschen (wie Sie sagen) mehr aus Noth-

wendigkeit und Eigennutzen arbeiten, als aus Freiheit und gemeinschaftlichem Interesse willen; dieses sind aber Folgen unseres Falles, welche wir von unseren Stammeltern angeerbt und unterdessen noch vermehrt haben. Von Anfang wurde der Mensch zur Thätigkeit und gesellschaftlichem Leben geschaffen, um für das Wohl und Glückseligkeit seiner Mitgeschöpfe zu wirken, zu welchem Zwecke auch alle gute Engel und Geister durch das ganze Geisterreich wirksam und thätig sind; welches Schwedenborg in seinen Schriften hinlänglich bestätigt. Dieser Grundtrieb liegt noch in des Menschen Wesen, und so bald, wie oben gesagt, die innern Gefühle durch das Licht der Wahrheit mittel- oder unmittelbar aufgeschlossen werden, so erwacht auch dieser Trieb zur Thätigkeit und gemeinschaftlichem Leben mit auf, und weil hier in der Harmonie lauter solche Leute sind, welche für das Reich Gottes erzogen und bereitet werden, so ist es natürlich, dass alles Eigenthum aufgehoben werden musste, weil in dem Reich Gottes niemand nichts Eigenes hat, sondern alles Gemeinschaftlich. Dessentwegen haben wir alle nur ein gemeinschaftliches Interesse hier, und allen, welche gesunde Glieder in dem Leib der Gemeinde sind, gibt die Bruderliebe Trieb und Thätigkeit genug, freiwillig und ungezwungen für den Nutzen und das Glück seiner Mitbrüder zu sorgen, und dasselbe mit seinem Fleiss und Arbeit, leiblich oder geistlich, zu befördern. Dieses aber kann nur vermittelt der Religion Jesu gelernt und geübt werden, welches lehrt abzusagen und zu verläugnen das, was Hinderniss macht, zu entbehren das an was man sich gewöhnt hat, und nicht Nothdurft ist, und sich selbst zu verläugnen, damit man für andere nützlich sein kann.

Um aber die Grundsätze der christlichen Religion, sowohl als auch die Gesetze und Anordnungen der Gemeinde aufrecht zu halten, und mit Nachdruck einzuschärfen, wird ein Mann als Vorsteher, wie oben gesagt, erfordert, welchem die anderen alle sowohl in geistlichen als natürlichen Anordnungen gehorsam sein, und sich seinen Befehlen unterwerfen müssen, damit alles von einem Willen abhängt, ohne welches keine Gemeinde bestehen könnte, obwohl in Hauptsachen immer die Mehrheit der Stimmen regirt. Auch könnte ohne Aufhebung alles Eigenthums keine Gemeinde, welche auf Grundsätze wie die unsrige errichtet,

bestehen; sondern würde immer Lust zu eigenem Nutzen und Interesse erwecken und eine unwiderstehliche Grundursache der Verwirrung und des Verfalls werden. Dessentwegen sind alle Plane, welche gemacht worden sind, Gemeinschaften wie die Harmonie ohne Ausübung der Religion Jesu und Aufhebung alles Eigenthums zu errichten, gescheitert.

Wir sind ziemlicher Massen mit den Schriften von Schwedenborg bekannt. Sie enthalten viel Brauchbares, nur wird er von den mehresten seiner Leser zu sinnlich verstanden.

Sollte Ihre Gesellschaft zu einem Entschluss kommen, in den westlichen Gegenden eine Gemeinde zu errichten, so sollte zuerst zwei taugliche Männer als Deputierte abgeschickt werden, um hieher zu reisen und die Gegenden zu besehen, und einen anständigen Platz auszusuchen. Zur nemlichen Zeit möchten sie auch uns besuchen, welches Gelegenheit gäbe, näher mit uns bekannt zu werden. Auch haben wir selbst noch viel vom besten Land in unserer Nachbarschaft liegen, welches wir an gutgesinnte Leute für billige Preise verkaufen würden.

Eine einzige Familie sollte von 500 zu 600 dollars frei auf den Platz bringen, um sich $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. (160 Acre) Land zu kaufen und mit nötigen Werkzeugen zu versehen. Sollten aber mehrere Familien gemeinschaftlich kaufen und leben wollen, so würde weniger erfordert.

FRIEDRICH RAPP."

A letter of about the same date, from Frederick Rapp to Chester Chadwick, refusing the latter's request to be admitted into the Society, gives a briefer statement of some of the same principles, and exhibits that sincere religious feeling, and kindness of heart, which were always characteristic of its writer:

"Your letter of the 15th ult. came to hand, in which we discover you desire to be admitted into our Society, with your family, in order to get rid of the trouble and care which is requisite to support and procure an honest living for yourself and family; which is a good meaning so far, yet we doubt very much whether you could submit to our regulations and manner of living, for no person here possesses anything as his own, nor can anybody act or do according to his own will, every member of the community must be obedient to the ordained superintendents, which is very

hard for people, who have not the kingdom of God for their chief object. For the fundamental principles, whereupon our community is established, are altogether religious. The religion of Jesus is practised here in fact, no unrighteous man can abide here, far less a daring sinner, who lives yet in vices; therefore one has to bethink himself better before joining our Society than you perhaps are aware of. We advise you not to do it. We have not admitted any person this long time, having been so often deceived by people who lived here one or two years, and finding the path to follow Jesus too narrow, they break off and calumniate us; then all our trouble spent to make them do better was lost. The German language is also the only one spoken here, which you do not understand, and in consequence could derive no benefit from church or school.

Content yourself for a while yet, the best way you can, a greater plan will develop itself perhaps before long, when all the honest and upright which are now scattered here and there through the world may be relieved from their burden.

Your well wisher,

FREDERICK RAPP."

No doubt the Society received many requests for a statement of its principles. It had also been maligned by persons who had lived in it for a time, and who had withdrawn or been expelled. Moreover, it was not understood by its Western frontier neighbors, and had incurred their ill will. These reasons led in 1824 to the publication of a statement of the principles upon which the Society was founded and of its aspirations. This publication was a treatise of 85 pages, printed on their own press, in both German and English, under the titles: „Gedanken über die Bestimmung des Menschen, besonders in Hinsicht der gegenwärtigen Zeit, von der Harmonie Gesellschaft;“ and in English: “Thoughts on the Destiny of Man, particularly with reference to the Present Time.” This treatise was probably edited by Father Rapp himself.* The English version is by some one who still

* During the early history of the Society, it was customary for the members to organize themselves into groups. Each group was called a company. The object for which these companies was formed, was the interchange of religious thought. Accordingly each company assembled

has difficulty with the English language, probably by Frederick Rapp, for it contains at the end several pages quite in his style and manner of thought, which are not in the German. Their belief is stated in an emphatic, if rather disconnected manner.

Man is destined to use the powers given him by the Creator for himself and others. He must exercise these powers, and for that intercourse with men is necessary.

In man there are tendencies both for good and evil. His free will must decide whether he shall obey his reason or his passions. If he chooses the former, he comes in conflict with his passions and sensual propensities. Man unaided has not strength enough for this contest. Reason is limited to this world. The Christian religion, which opens up a future life, alone can give him the victory. Those who believe in Christ's word, are moulded to men of God, whose aim is to unite the general welfare of their fellow men with their own welfare, and thus help to regain the lost dignity of man. This is practical Christianity. This universally active love for men is what Jesus had in view when he founded his religion.

Religion and reason together guide men aright. "A good man would cheat nobody intentionally, even if he were not influenced by religion, for his natural reason itself tells him that deception is wrong and does not enrich." Men who are guided by reason and an aroused consciousness of religious duty, can form a permanent union for true and real welfare, and constitute a compound whole, for which the human race is destined. To attain this great end, enlightenment and increase of knowledge

on Sunday evening at the home of one of its members. On these occasions each member was expected to bring a fragment (*Stück*) in reference to what was best in religion and morals for man's temporal and eternal welfare. Whenever any such fragment elicited particular interest, the author was made to bring the production to the notice of Father Rapp. If it met with his approval, it was entered in a book provided for that purpose, the "*Stückbuch*." It is quite likely that from these fragments Father Rapp composed his treatise, and on that account called it "*Gedanken*." This would account for the frequent repetition of the same thought in somewhat different language, and for the unsystematic arrangement of the book. (This information was given by Mr. John S. Duss.)

are necessary. Arts and sciences contribute to greater universal strength, to the welfare of the whole human race.

The time is approaching when all good and reasonable men will unite in perfect harmony to form a kingdom of God, which must be brought about by men. In union there is strength. Their effectiveness is increased when the benefactors of mankind unite to further their aims. Without this united strength, perfection is never attainable by our race. The time is ripe for this harmony. It will result in a nation of brothers from whose perfectly harmonious actions the rights of man shall again spring forth and be perpetuated without king, emperor or monarch. Then political institutions may pass away, but the spirit of the nation, humanity, will remain.

This spirit of the times sought in vain a home with all nations until it found in the new world a people which still had force and energy. From the small beginning already made in America will proceed the regeneration of society.

“For the regeneration of society, the Christian religion is essential. Such a vigorous and effective religion as the Christian can alone be pregnant with a germ for the restoration of higher felicity, and for the production of a realm of men, consistent with the word of Jesus, in which many peoples will be gradually transformed by the bond of love into a Brother nation, where divine truth and duty towards man can be taught and practised without pomp or constraint, without dissimulation or superstition.”

This higher social life has already appeared. It will leaven the whole mass. „Also kein Stillstehen im Reich Gottes — nicht mehr Rückgang, sondern Fortrücken zum vollkommenen Ziel, wo auf grünen und frohen Gefilden ein Tempel Gottes gebaut, darin die noch lichtfähige Menschen, Ruhe und Erquickung finden, anzubeten in der heiligen Halle, des Wesens Einklang, Ordnung und Harmonie.“

A way is also opened to religious unity between friend and friend, brother and brother, and this without being stained with monkish sophistry. Only practical Christianity can enable men to fulfil the purpose of God. In barbarous ages, Christianity was the safety and order of the world. In our century it will con-

tinue, according to the plan of Jesus, to accomplish his work of love until peoples of many nations shall finally unite in one beautiful army of brothers.

„Mit so edelen Gesinnungen, Neigungen, Trieben, wird alles in einander gebunden; Bürgerstärke, Gesetzgebung, Staatsverfassung, Andacht und Religion. Was vor ein Gantzes wird sich daraus entwickeln Eine Brudernation ohne Monarchie, alle nach einer Verfassung, in Glauben und Religion, friedlich und in Eintracht zu leben, und wirken in Brudergemeinen und Harmonien, Alle für Eine, und Eine für Alle.“

This end will be reached through revolution and regeneration. Truth, religion, reason must, in spite of all the mad attacks of their enemies, finally conquer. And what, if the one instrument in the plan of providence were already in existence? A united brother-people is the habitation of God. There the germ of a new political and religious life has sprung up. A harmonious people is already in existence, who, in order to attain to a higher virtue, have renounced sensuality and the enjoyment of the earthly pleasures of human nature. They are waiting for the foundation of the kingdom of God on earth, proclaimed by Christ, whose purpose it is to form men who will advance the welfare and happiness of others. In fact, Christianity was nothing else than a "bond of friendship combining all duties and regulations for spiritual and temporal interests and uniting all mankind into one social bond of union. Christianity ought never to have had any but the best and most upright men in its communities and ought to have been governed by superintendents and fathers without the aid of secular power. The reigning system ought to have been a pure and true theocracy. Religion ought to have settled all disputes among Christians and not the judiciary tribunals. Hail the country, where such a dignified exercise of office can be and is permitted to be administered."

The purer the principles of religion are, the more it will advance both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the community. The whole religious plan of Jesus was union and fraternity. If only one such society existed in the world, nothing would be more natural, than that all elements and many nations should unite with it.

The union of souls is the sweetest and most noble enjoyment of which man is capable. It is the highest happiness of earth. It is divine, heavenly, unselfish. Where sensual enjoyment with its needs cease, begins a freer, better and higher enjoyment, a friendly living together of brotherly souls who love and serve each other. The germ of such a union lies in human nature.

The noblest form of state has never yet been realized. It is the union of the powers of the several members for the benefit of the whole, for the welfare of all. That is Harmony. The Harmony Society is an evidence of what a union can accomplish. The more our undertakings are based on pure truth and love of men, the more useful and permanent are our works.

Life in harmony with our fellows is the best preparation for heaven. "Here seek a friend of God, exercise yourself on Him, and no matter how it pains, do not leave him until you lose your own life. You need not trouble yourself about any other heaven, for in the simplicity to which you have attained, you are fitted for all the heavenly societies which make up heaven or the kingdom of God." One can not expect to commune with God who can not get on with his fellow men. Only in social life can mankind attain its destiny. Only in such a society is life truly free. There political and religious institutions are united. There is no fear of slavish laws and penalties; for the good man is also the truly free man, for he obeys the law of nature, as well as of truth, from a sense of love. When he recognizes what is true, good and useful, he does it without compulsion, entirely because it is good and true. This freedom prevails in the Harmony Society. "In the common household of this brotherhood, the greatest order, skill and diligence are observed in the most minute as well as the most extensive transactions. Here wealth is possessed in abundance, and all cares for sustenance are removed and forgotten. No sluggard can live in this amicable confederation, for permission is never given to any one to eat his bread in sinful indolence. Male and female, old and young, are usefully employed according to their powers of mind and body; all contribute to the welfare of the whole, and from the common stock all are supplied with all the necessities of life.

The various branches of this economic commonwealth, thus

regularly conducted and united, form one great machine, the principal wheel of which, when in motion, puts all the rest in motion for the interest of the whole. In their mutual enjoyments all the members are contented and happy; none is rich or poor; the causes of distress and clamor in the world are not experienced or even known here. How could it be otherwise? In eating, drinking and clothing everything is plain and simple, like nature herself in her household, which we necessarily take as an example for imitation in our economical regulations for the restoration of a happier age. Here are possessed sufficient means for convenience, and a competent knowledge for their application to the rational and useful purposes of life. Where so many useful, active persons are harmoniously united, there must be, and evidently is, a true kingdom of God. "Those who choose such a life are such as are conscious of their imperfections and dissatisfied with themselves and have not perverted their moral faculties." In this manner the whole human race will eventually be ameliorated.

In America nothing hinders the Society from practising its belief. It is a special providence that this land became a free republic.

The restoration of the dignity of man can alone secure to us the golden age. The brotherly union will finally triumph. The dignity of the human race is gradually progressing and a better race of men is beginning to appear, which will show clearly to the world the superior refinement and happiness of that united and social life, for the enjoyment of which the Creator implanted faculties in man.

Mankind is only that which it makes out of itself. A hundred means of improvement are in our hands as soon as we have a vivid feeling of the necessity of improvement. God helps us only through our faculties, reason and industry.

That society only is happy in which luxury has no place. The kingdom of heaven will be founded here on earth out of men, and not in eternity; and that on a perfectly firm basis for the spiritual and temporal welfare of those who share it.

Unless the mind be pure and enlightened, the principles of a fraternity can neither be understood nor appreciated.

"Men view the treasures of heaven as a common stock; why

not consider then the treasures of earth in the same light? It is reasonable to suppose that he who can not learn to share with his brother in this life, will not easily do so in the world to come, and that no one need expect to find happiness in the heavenly society of men, unless he first learn and practise the social virtues here among his fellow creatures; because if he be not accustomed to deny himself on earth, he will surely take offence, even in heaven." The golden treasure of this world is friendship. This heavenly virtue, the first principle of which is implanted in the nature of man, begins to spread around us its genial influence, and to flourish in a brotherly society of harmonious members. If all mankind were to live in thousands of such brotherly communities, their happiness would be greatly promoted. The experience of twenty years shows the superior advantages of a united religious community, based on the principles of brotherly unity established and practised by Christ and his apostles.

It is decreed that the whole human race shall become united by the sacred bond of mutual interest and brotherly affection. The two chief obstacles to this union are the sensual propensities and the ignorance of men.

"The proper education of the youth is of the greatest importance to the prosperity of any plan for the amelioration of mankind. That kind of learning and those fashionable accomplishments which are useless and only calculated for show should be entirely abolished, and in their stead those true principles and habits of life should be established and confirmed, which most strongly tend to unite the hearts, minds and fortunes of the rising generation, and arouse their sleeping faculties for the performance of all that is truly good and great.

It is ardently hoped and believed that this sublime, predestined system of Brotherly Union and Social Harmony will ere long be universally established for the restoration of the golden age, the dignity of human character, and the happiness of man."

Such were the aspirations of George Rapp. His was no narrow, selfish plan. It embraced all mankind, and its aim was the regeneration of society. The Harmony Society, with its theocratic government insuring the spiritual and temporal welfare

of its members, was the model on which society was to be re-constituted.

In 1807, under the influence of religious enthusiasm, the Society adopted the custom of celibacy. They became convinced that this was a purer mode of life, and that the self-denial required for the practice of it would prepare them for the kingdom of Christ, so soon to be established on earth. Husbands were not separated from their wives and families, but they lived together in the same houses as before; instead of the marital relation, they lived together as brother and sister. No effort was made to keep the sexes apart. It was left to the conscience of each one to comply with the self-imposed restriction. The practice was adhered to almost universally. Members who desired to get married had to leave the Society. But married persons with their families were still admitted, some of them had been former members. In 1819, Dr. Feucht left the Society and was married. He and his wife were re-admitted the same year. To this couple four children were born. In 1807 the Society also resolved to discontinue the use of tobacco.

They found a basis for the practice of celibacy in the mystical theology of the school of Jacob Boehme. The *Hirtenbrief* of this school contained views very nearly in accord with their own. The Society had this work reprinted in 1855 and a copy of it placed in every family.* In this it was held that Adam, as first created, had a dual nature, containing both male and female elements, and, if he had remained in this perfect state, would have had the power of propagation in some mysterious, spiritual manner. But in his sleep in the Garden of Eden, itself the result of an inordinate desire aroused in his heart by the tempter, the female element was separated from him in the creation of Eve. The regenerated man would return to the original perfect state of Adam.

This doctrine of the *Hirtenbrief* re-appears in a letter of Mr. Henrici to a Shaker, October 15, 1858:

"Adam, by his fall and sleep, was deprived of his feminine half and lost the true image of God, two in one. Christ re-instated that lost image and was and is the true image, therefore

* Williams. *The Harmony Society*, p. 137.

we cannot for a moment indulge in the idea that perfection means any thing short of the ultimate union of two in one, as Adam was before the separation of the woman." And in another letter to the same person, he wrote: "We find that your views in regard to Jesus Christ, the eternal son of God, as well as in regard to the perfectly regenerated man in his glorified body of physical resurrection are entirely too low and narrow, and not in accord with what the word of God warrants us to hope and expect. They were not miserable halves, like the present animal man and woman, but perfect sons and images of God, who are truly whole and perfect within themselves, whose external visible part is the woman, who compasses the internal invisible commanding part, the man, and who thus are a dualism, man and woman, as well as a trinity, spirit, soul and body. The sperm to this creation of such a full and true son of God is yet dormant in every son of man; but can only be quickened and put in growth by Jesus Christ, the new Adam, who is father and mother in one of truth—the new creation—through a life of regeneration; but in this vile body our life is hid with Christ in God, but when Christ shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory."

It was found too that celibate persons surrendered their individual interests more readily to the common welfare, than married persons.

Father Rapp believed that Christ would re-appear on earth in Palestine, and always held himself in readiness to lead his people thither, when the appointed time should arrive. He held firmly to his faith to the last, and could not believe that he would die before the completion of his work. The Sabbath before his death he preached to his people from the window of his sick room, exhorting them to patience and submission to the will of God, to prayer and work for the salvation of the whole human race, to faith in God's word and to harmony. He died August 7, 1847, aged 90 years. One of the elders who watched by his bedside the last night of his life put on record the following statement: "Father Rapp's strong faith in the literal fulfillment of the promises concerning the personal coming of Jesus Christ remained unshaken to his last moments, as was shown by his last words, when he felt the strong grip of approaching death, saying: 'If I did not so fully believe that the Lord has designed

me to place our Society before his presence in the land of Canaan, I would consider this my last.*”

Father Rapp accepted the Bible as the sole guide in things spiritual. His theology was that of the mystical Boehme and Jung-Stilling. He believed in future rewards and punishments, but that punishment would not last forever, and that ultimately all men would be saved.*

The religious services of the Society were much like those of the Lutheran church, to which most of the members had originally belonged. But some of the members had been Moravians, some Catholics, and no profession of faith or acceptance of any religious dogmas was required of those joining the Society. The practice of confession of sins to the superintendent was encouraged.

The three special festivals of the Society, partly religious in character, are the Harmoniefest, February 15th, the anniversary of the founding of the Society, the Danksagungstag, or Harvest-Home, in early autumn, and the Liebesmahl and Lord's Supper, which they observe together in the latter part of October. The festivals are celebrated in the large Assembly Hall. Music and feasting are leading features on these occasions. Reconciliation with one's enemies is insisted on as a necessary preparation for the Lord's Supper.

The following hymn was composed for the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Society, the Harmoniefest, February 15, 1835:

Harmonie, du Auserkorne,
Der ewgen Einheit Erstgeborne
Vor aller Creatur und Zeit.
Bis heut' thatst du dich behaupten,
Wie alle deine Helden glaubten;
Drum sei dir heut dies Fest geweiht,
Du schöne Sulamith,
In deinem Geistestritt, kehre
Wieder im Geisteshauch
Nach deinem Brauch,
Und fördre vollends unsern Lauf.

* Williams. *The Harmony Society*, p. 182.

* Williams, *ibid*, p. 118.

Du hast vor aller Leben Leben,
Die Einheit als den Mann umgeben;
Da warst du schon Gebärerin:
Als Gott zu dir sprach: Es werde,
Da warst du schon die Mutter Erde,
Und gabst dem Geist den Leib und Sinn.
Nur dünn, nach Engelart, doch lichtvoll,
Rein und zart, so schufst du ihn,
Allein er fiel, durchs Feuer-Gewühl,
Daraus entstand der Selbstheit Spiel.

Dieses Spiel bei Jung und Alten
Macht Bruderlieb so oft erkalten;
Drum weck uns heute Geist und Kraft,
Dass wir uns heut recht vereinen,
Der Sanftmuth Quell uns möcht erscheinen,
Von Innen aus dem Geistes-Saft,
Damit dir Lieblichkeit, zu deiner
Wonn und Freud, bald erscheine.
Im Salz der Kraft den Geist umfasst,
Dass eines zu dem andern passt.

Denn wir haben viel erfahren
In diesen vollen dreissig Jahren;
Die wir bereits zurückgelegt,
Die Geist- Seel- und Leibs-Bekehrung
Setzt jedem zehen zur Vermehrung,
So wie auch unser Urbild pflegt.
Nun Philadelphia,
Jetzt sing Halleluja
Gott Lob und Dank, jetzt hat ein End
Der Vorsätz' Schlünd;
Der Geist ist Herr im Regiment.

Und du, Vater, welche Gnade,
Du warst Durchbrecher auf dem Pfade,
Denn du hast allzeit Gott vertraut,
Und durch dieses bist du worden
Der Eckstein deiner Mitkonsorten,
Und hast dem Geist den Leib gebaut,
Jetzt nur Beharrung her.
Ruft deine holde Lehr', guter Vater,
Wir wollens thun, zu deinem Ruhm;
Wir bleiben doch dein Eigenthum.

Nun zum sprechenden Beweise
 Umringt den Vater recht mit Fleisse,
 Begleitet ihn ins Bruderhaus.
 Heut muss das Weib den Mann umgeben,
 Durch ihn kommt unser wachsend Leben,
 Er führt uns aus uns selbst hinaus.
 Auch dich, du junges Volk,
 Zählt er zur Zeugen-Wolk';
 Drum haltet aus und bleibt getreu;
 Bald sehen wir frei,
 Wer Gott und unser Vater sei.

The following is a hymn for Danksagungstag 1880:

EINTRACHT.

Selige Eintracht, himmlisches Bild,
 Schweben hernieder tröstend und mild;
 Allen lass leuchten gnädig dein Licht;
 Selige Eintracht, weich' von uns nicht.
 Worte der Zwietracht schallen mit Macht,
 Lass sie verstimmen, schwinden in Nacht,
 Schirme die Freiheit, wende Gefahr,
 Mach' uns ergeben dir immerdar.
 O, du erhebest mächtig den Geist,
 Dass er aus Sünden muthvoll sich reisst;
 O, du entbindest von allem Leid,
 Dass sich die Seele ewig erfreut.
 Ja, mit dir leben, sterben mit dir,
 Himmeln schweben selig mit dir,
 Lass uns, o Eintracht, weich von uns nicht,
 Mit deinem heiligen himmlischen Licht.

The funeral services are very simple, consisting of singing and a few remarks. The graveyard is in the orchard and the graves are in no way marked. Even Father Rapp's grave is not distinguished from the others. A register is kept of the deceased, with the number of the grave in its row, and only in this way can the graves be distinguished.*

* Williams. *The Harmony Society*, p. 115.

Jacob Henrici was one of the trustees of the Society from Father Rapp's death, 1847, until his own, 1892. He believed as ardently as Father Rapp himself in the importance of the work of the Society and in the personal second coming of Christ.

Rev. Jos. A. Seiss, of Philadelphia, was publishing "The Prophetic Times," a religious paper proclaiming the second advent of Christ. In response to an appeal for aid in spreading this doctrine, Mr. Henrici wrote the following letter, signed by Mr. Baker and himself:

"Economy, July 31, 1867.

Rev. Jos. A. Seiss, D. D.,
422 N. Seventh street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Your kind letter of July 17th has reached us in due time. We are not at all surprised that you cannot comprehend (and that you must first find fault with) our inactivity in regard to spreading the precious truths for which you and your friends have worked so long and so faithfully. Were you thoroughly acquainted with the history of our Society, you would be less astonished at our conduct. We are fully convinced that the founding of our Society, with all its peculiarities, has been the work of the same all wise and almighty power that founded the first Christian church of Jerusalem (Acts, chaps. 2d and 4th), and that it has ever since by the same source of light and life, been guided and sustained.

We therefore consider ourselves and all we possess without the least reservation as belonging to Him who has bought us with his precious blood. We would not like to do or omit anything contrary to his wishes, but until now we never felt ourselves competent or called upon to publish anything for anybody outside of our Society. But we always found it the sacred duty of our Society to prepare itself for the great day of his blessed second coming, and for the important work which he will have to do for us at the time of his own divine election, which we always prayed him to hasten. In the meantime, we found ourselves in duty bound to stand as a shining light for all who were able or willing to see, by cultivating among ourselves a perfect Christian Union, founded on a pure and holy life of true Christian self-denial, and by verifying the name of our Society in restoring

through the power of the Holy Ghost that divine Harmony for which we are destined and which would have existed among the children of God, and with their heavenly father and the whole Universe had the Fall, that source of all discord, never happened.

Oh how fervently did we always wish, hope and pray for the blessed day of his glorious appearing. Long, long ago have we thought to see the unerring signs of that great event, and did certain steps towards embracing and proclaiming it, but we found that what we had done was premature and created us trouble and only served as an impressive lesson to wait more patiently for God's own appointed time. The virtues which the word of God has taught and his Holy Spirit has explained to us as most essential for a true preparation for the citizenship of the Kingdom of God, were not considered as such by others and were scoffed at by ministers and other professors of Christianity and were especially repulsive to the great majority of the American public and the rationalistic Germans who naturally hate and despise a life of true Christian obedience, humility, chastity and self-denial. There were always but few that loved and respected the tree for its golden fruit which they saw, tasted and enjoyed. True members of our Society always enjoyed a happiness (even in this world) with which no earthly blessings can be compared, but when we consider how few were ever able or willing to embrace it, we were compelled to say that our time had not yet arrived. Only those can enjoy the peace and happiness of the kingdom of heaven who are truly heavenly minded. For a number of years we have had very poor luck with those that from favorable reports were induced to join our Society; they generally came with erroneous or impure motives, neither understanding themselves nor the real object of our Society and the trial for membership generally resulted in loss of time and disappointment, both to them and to ourselves, so that the undeserved bad reports which were spread about our Society caused us often less trouble and seemed to do us less harm than the occasional praises which some friend had kindly bestowed on us, and thereby induced such people to become candidates for membership. Upon the whole, we found that all endeavors to bring about a better state of fallen humanity are of little avail, as long

as God's time has not arrived and the spirit of the Lord is not taking the lead and the control. For nearly the last forty years a number of individuals and of Societies who had imagined to be called by the Lord for great purposes, presented their pretended important writings and revelations to us and requested and sometimes in the name of Almighty God commanded us to accept them as divine messages and revelations and furnish the means for their publication, but on close examination, we always found that they had made themselves the centre of the new revelations, and after all preached themselves instead of Christ crucified. Yet we never ceased to hope, to believe and wait, though often meeting with darkness where and when we expected light.

But now when we find by the powerful and unselfish and upright testimony of yourself and many other excellent witnesses, that the glorious morning is dawning, we take new courage to hope for the early deliverance of the oppressed children of God by the glorious appearing of our long looked for, dear, dear Saviour.

We ourselves not being calculated to write or publish anything, which under present circumstances would do any good, and believing that our proper work is already fully designed, and will be plainly revealed to us by the Lord as soon as he wishes us to enlarge our present sphere of action, for which we keep ourselves ready with a perfectly good will, and not being willing to spend any time or any means for uncalled for publications, being convinced that the impending final judgment will, under the Lord's direction, make a more effectual impression in one day than all the printing presses could do in a century without it. We took some time for examining the publication you kindly sent us, and for calmly and duly considering the many questions you addressed to us, and finally came to the conclusion that your publications are excellent and well calculated to do a great deal of good. We therefore do not hesitate to make a contribution for that well intended purpose. As a beginning, we herewith enclosed send you a draft on New York for three hundred dollars, which you may use as you think best. Hoping that its ap-

plication may receive the approbation and blessing of our dear Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ,

We remain,

Your sincere friends,

BAKER and HENRICI, Trustees."

Shortly after the death of Mr. Baker, in 1868, Mr. Henrici wrote in a letter to Louise Weil:

„Ich habe eine sehr hohe Ansicht, von dem Werthe und der endlichen Bestimmung unsrer harmonischen Gemeinde, die, obgleich jetzt in verborgener Gestalt und mit manchen menschlichen Unvollkommenheiten belastet, dennoch für einen grossen geheimen Zweck unmittelbar vom Herrn selbst gegründet und bis auf den heutigen Tag gnädig und wunderbar beschützt und geleitet worden.“

And in 1869 he wrote to Dr. F. A. Wintuska: „Wir sind in unserer Ueberzeugung der redlichen Erfüllung der vom Herrn versprochenen persönlichen Wiederkunft noch so fest als je, und wir wollten lieber auf diesen Glauben sterben, als die Verheissung für irrig oder unerfüllbar erklären. In diesem Glauben und in dieser Ueberzeugung und in der treuen Ausübung der daraus entspringenden Pflichten, geniessen wir jetzt schon einen ganz ungemeinen Wohlstand, geistlich und leiblich, und der Friede Gottes, welcher höher ist als alles, was diese Welt geben kann, ist uns in Wahrheit zu Theil geworden.“

Twenty years later Mr. Henrici's faith and that of the Society is stronger than ever. Some Germans, under the leadership of Herren Hoffmann and Hardegg, had formed a "Tempelverein." This "Verein" had purchased land in Palestine and founded a colony there, in preparation for the coming of Christ. The Harmonists had heard of the movement, and unsolicited had sent money to aid it. With a second donation, Mr. Henrici wrote: „Wir haben nun wieder die Freude Ihnen anzuzeigen, dass der Rath unsrer Aeltesten auf unser Ersuchen eine weitere Verwilligung von \$2000 gemacht hat, die wir Ihnen in zwei Wechseln an die Herren Hoffmann und Hardegg hiemit übersenden, mit dem herzlichen Wunsche, dass auch diese zweite Liebesgabe dem Herrn wohlfällig und den Empfängern nützlich und angenehm sein möge. Immer fühlen wir keine gänzliche Gewissheit

ob die rechte Zeit zur Ausführung der grossen von Gott verheissenen Sache nun gekommen. — Wir sind aber von der Wichtigkeit der gegenwärtigen Zeit fest überzeugt.“

In 1890, at the time when the Society itself was seriously embarrassed for lack of ready money, it loaned \$10,000 to the Templeverein in Jerusalem at 3%.

The desire of the Society to serve their fellow men was not an empty profession. In 1894 Moritz Frederick told in court of the kindness shown to him by the Society, when he was a complete stranger to them. He came to America in 1847, at the age of 30, intending to go as a Moravian missionary to Wisconsin. On the way from Pittsburg to Milwaukee, he stopped over night at the hotel at Economy. During the night he had a hemorrhage from the lungs. While lying sick at the hotel, Mr. Baker, Mr. Henrici and Mr. Lenz came to see him and said: “No he can’t stay here, he is too weak. We must get him another place.”

Mr. Baker brought his sister, who, standing by the sick man’s bedside, said: “I will take him into my house.” Accordingly, Mr. Baker and sister took him to their house, and there the woman nursed him for three years, as tenderly as a mother.

Money came to him from Germany, which was kept for him at the store for two years. When in 1850 he was able to travel, this money, together with a gift of \$25, was given him, and he returned to Germany. He had signed the constitution in 1848. After three years in Germany, he returned to Pittsburg, living there for 32 years, during which time he made frequent visits to Economy, always being welcomed as a friend. Mr. Frederick was married to an invalid wife. When his money was all gone, and his wife dead, he went to Economy, where he was given a pleasant home. He rejoined the Society in 1890, re-signing the articles.*

This is only a typical instance of a kindness which the Society was ever ready to extend to the needy. The Articles of Association gave the trustees the authority to devote such money to benevolence as they saw fit. Instances of the exercise of this authority throughout the history of the Society are numerous. The Western Pennsylvania Hospital and Mercy Hospital, at

* Fredericks. Testimony, Record II, p. 590.

Pittsburg, were aided substantially by the Society. Beaver College, at Beaver, Pa., was given money, and 10 acres of ground at Beaver Falls, Pa., was donated as a site for Geneva College. Individuals and institutions were constantly appealing to the Society. They were heard, and if the cause was approved, aid was given. The spirit in which these and like donations were made, is revealed in the following letter, October 13, 1856, of Mr. Henrici to Louise Weil:

„Liebe Louise:

Täglich acht Stunden Unterricht zu erteilen, ist freilich eine harte Arbeit für dich. Allein wenn du dich so dazu stimmen kannst, dass du es gern thust, so wird es dir gewiss nicht schaden. Denn du bist ohne Zweifel dazu bestimmt, durch Unterricht und Erziehen Gutes zu wirken, und hauptsächlich auf solche Weise deinen vollen Betrag zur Menschenbildung zu machen. Gott hat dir die schönsten Anlagen dazu gegeben; und was ist beglückender als dieselben für das Wohl unseres Brudergeschlechts gebrauchen zu dürfen?

Kümmere dich nicht wenn amerikanischer Geldadelstolz auf dich herabsieht. Was hilft dem Reichen sein irdisches Glück, das ihn heute ergötzt, und morgen durch seine Vergänglichkeit die Schmerzen der Entbehrung nur desto empfindlicher erfahren lässt? Darum glücklich der Arme, der verborgen die untrüglichen Keime eines ewig wachsenden Reichthums in seinem reinen wohlwollenden Herzen trägt. Mögen die Thoren seiner spotten und ihn verlachen. Er wird dort lachen, wo keine Täuschung seine Freude mehr trüben und keine Vergänglichkeit seinem Glücke mehr eine Grenze setzen darf —

Was deine Geltangelegenheiten und sonstigen Bedürfnisse und Erfordernisse betrifft, so sei jederzeit ganz kindlich und frei, und besorge nicht, uns durch zu vollständige Schilderung deiner Umstände und Wichtigkeiten zu beleidigen oder zu langweilen. Als Verwalter eines Gemeingutes, das durch die Handarbeit und sauren Fleiss unserer Gesellschaft erworben wurde, fühlen wir uns zwar verpflichtet, überall sorgfältig und haushälterisch in allen Ausgaben zu verfahren, und auch dich zur Sparsamkeit und Verminderung alles Unnöthigen aufzumuntern. Allein wenn du bei aller Vorsicht und Sparsamkeit dennoch unvermeidliche Ausgaben nicht selbst bestreiten kannst, so lass es Herrn Baker mit

kindlicher Zuversicht erfahren, und wir werden dich gewiss nicht mangeln lassen —

Deine Familie und übrigen Freunde, wie auch der Schreiber dieses, senden ihre herzlichen Grüsse, und hoffen bald wieder eine recht vollständige Nachricht von dir zu erhalten.

Mit aufrichtiger Liebe,

Dein Freund,

JACOB HENRICI."

George Rapp had a granddaughter, Gertrude Rapp. She was born in the Society, educated there and passed all her life in the community. That such training and life did produce a character of Christian kindness and humility, is shown in her letter to Louise Weil, January 31, 1862.*

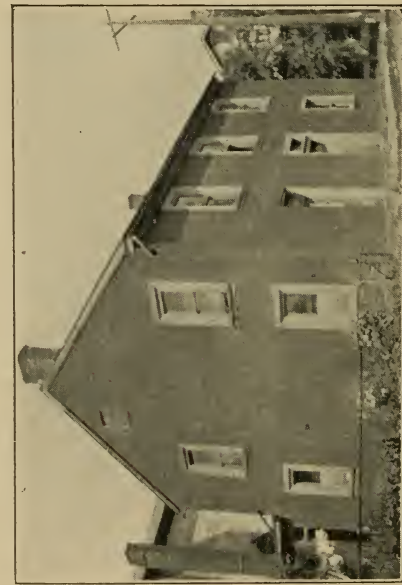
„Da du mit so viel Dankbarkeit dich alles empfangenen Guten errinnerst, so ist es nicht zu Verwundern, dass du auch ein sehr scharfes Gedächtniss für das empfangene Gegentheil besitzt. Möge der Geist des wahren Christenthums in seinem Veredlungswerke nicht bei uns nachlassen, bis die Liebe alles Widrige verschlungen und es uns zur bleibenden Natur und zur Lust geworden, alles uns widerfahrene Böse mit Gutem zu ver-

* Louisa Weil, to whom this letter was written, was a young Swabian, who about 1855 had come to America to seek her fortune. While employed as a servant in New York, she fell sick with pneumonia, and was taken to the hospital on Blackwell's Island. As she was recovering from her sickness, Mr. Baker visited the hospital. He became interested in his friendless young compatriot and took her with him to Economy. There she remained for some months, until she was restored to complete health. Mr. Baker then arranged for her return to her friends in Würtemberg. On her departure, the Society gave her \$100 and individual members made her personal gifts. Gertrude Rapp gave her silk for an apron and a heavy silk handkerchief; Mr. Lenz, a fine penknife; Mr. Henrici, some instructive books; the old shoemaker presented her with two pairs of shoes which he had made especially for her. After her return to Germany, she kept up a correspondence for some years with several of the members, and received further financial assistance from the Society. She gratefully appreciated the kindness shown her, and was enthusiastic in her admiration for her Harmonist friends. Some years later, in the form of a novel, she wrote a very interesting account of her experiences in America, under the title: "Geläutert. Eine Geschichte vom Auswandern." (Second edition, Stuttgart, 1891.)

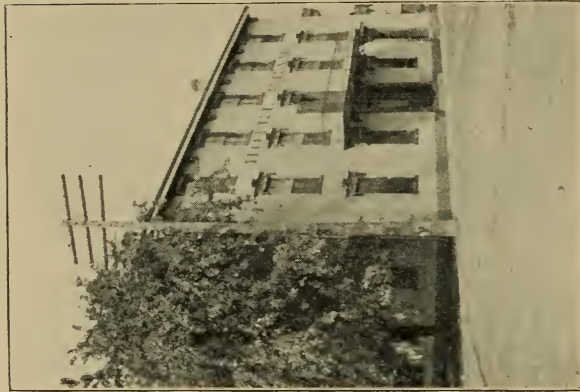
gelten, und alle uns zugefügte Beleidigungen so herzlich und vollkommen zu vergeben, wie wir wünschen, dass der Herr und alle von uns Beleidigte auch uns vergeben möchten.

Dass du meiner so ehrenvoll in deinem vom Publikum so günstig aufgenommenen Büchlein gedachtest, und mich dadurch zur Oeffentlichkeit brachtest, verdient dankbare Annerkennung, obgleich ich nie so etwas erwartete, suchte oder wünschte. An gutem Willen hat es mir zwar nie gefehlt, nach dem Beispiel meiner lieben Eltern und Grosseltern dem Herrn und seiner Gemeinde und Menschenfamilie meine ganze Liebe und alle meine Kräfte auf Zeit und Ewigkeit zu weihen. Aber ach, wie unvollkommen ist bei dem reinsten Wollen das rechte Vollbringen. Und wenn ich auch das Beste gethan hätte oder thun würde, so wäre es blosser Schuldigkeit und verdiente keines Lobes.

— Dass der traurige Bürgerkrieg, der in manchen Theilen unseres Landes schon so viel Verheerung angerichtet, auch uns schon manche Sorge verursachte, kannst du dir wohl denken. Doch unser Vertrauen auf die schützende Hand Gottes, ohne dessen Willen kein Haar von unserem Haupte fallen kann, ist unbegrenzt. Wir haben zwar schon viele Beiträge zu machen gehabt, und es werden uns noch manche Lasten auferlegt werden, aber es ist uns im Uebrigen, Gott sei Dank, noch nicht das geringste Leid geschehen.“



HOUSE AT HARMONY, PA., BUILT BY THE SOCIETY.



HOTEL, AT HARMONY, PA.
BUILT BY THE SOCIETY.



GATE TO GRAVEYARD AT HARMONY, PA.

CHAPTER III.

Harmony, Pennsylvania, 1804-1815.

George Rapp was born November 1, 1757, in Iptingen, Würtemberg, the son of Adam Rapp, a peasant. He learned the trade of weaving. Like many of his neighbors, he also engaged in wine growing.

Early in life he became deeply interested in religion. The established Lutheran church in his native land had lost vitality. Its doctrines and practices did not satisfy the needs of the strong and thoughtful man who felt within himself the struggle between his good and bad natures. He became acquainted with the writings of Jacob Boehme, Schwedenborg, Jung-Stilling and other Mystics and Pietists, whose teachings made a deep impression on him. He identified himself with the Separatistic movement. The Separatists of Würtemberg believed that the true Christian must live a life of self-denial and that he must suffer ridicule and persecution on account of the purity of his life. They regarded the established clergy as hypocrites and Pharisees.*

They asserted the right of laymen to study and interpret the Bible and to teach to others the truths they found

*Poem by Jacob Neff.

in it. When about thirty years of age, Rapp was convinced that he had discovered a purer truth than that preached by the regular clergy, and he considered it his duty to present it to his fellow men. He was a man of strong personality and a powerful preacher. Among the farmers and mechanics of his neighborhood, intelligent and industrious men, he gathered a congregation of devout persons, who were dissatisfied with the established church and were striving like himself for a purer religious life. These persons suffered some persecution on account of their religion. The government interfered with their plans for living in the manner of the early Christians with community of goods, and their religious meetings were prohibited at the instigation of the clergy. Moreover, Würtemberg, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was in a most depressed condition. It seemed as if the total ruin of the land were approaching. Many of the people emigrated to Russia, Hungary and America, „Beinahe ein Drittel vom Land will fort, theils nach Russland, theils nach Ungarn und nach Amerika. Es sieht einem gänzlichen Ruin gleich.“* George Rapp decided to lead his congregation to America.

In this great undertaking, as in others of a similar nature in later years, he displayed rare judgment in making his plans and great ability in executing them. He did not underestimate the difficulties of such an undertaking. He told his people of the hardships they would have to endure on the voyage and in founding a settlement in America, and urged those who were not prepared for great privations, to remain at home. He directed those who were determined to follow him, to sell their property and prepare themselves for the journey. He himself, with money of his own amounting to 2,000 Gulden, came to America in 1803, to choose a site for the proposed settlement. He left behind in charge of his congregation a young man of high character and ability, Friedrich Reichert, who in America was adopted by him as his son, and is known in the history of the Society as Friedrich Rapp.

The easiest route for emigrants from Würtemberg was down the Rhine to Holland, and from there to America. This route

*Friedrich Rapp to George Rapp, March 27, 1804.

was taken by George Rapp. July 31, 1803, he was in Amsterdam, from where he sailed. He landed at Baltimore, and early in September he was in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, considering offers of land for his settlement. He wrote to his congregation from this place, describing his situation and his very favorable impressions of the new country:

„Meinen Gruss zuvor, vielgeliebte Freunde.

Lengester, den 12. September, 1803.

Ich habe aus Vorsorge nochmal schreiben wollen, um euch Gewissheit zu geben unseres Berufs halber. Wir sind hier etliche Tage gewesen, und sind Leute zu uns gekommen, die uns viel Land angetragen haben, aber alles Land liegt im Staat Pennsylvania, den Morgen um zwei Thaler, das nach unserem Geld 5 fl. ist. Nach der Karte ligt an dem Suscehanne Fluss, das andere bei Connestoga, an einem Stück 9,060 Morgen, den Morgen um 5 fl. Noch ein Stück weiter hinauf, bei 1,500 Morgen gegen dem Erie See, um zwei fl. zu verkaufen; alles um ein Termin auf sechs, sieben, acht Jahr zu bezahlen. Wir wissen aber noch nicht, ob wir es kaufen oder nicht, *weil wir lieber in die Gegend Virginien wären. Zu Winchester, am Fluss Branok, bei Petowmack, unterhalb Cumperland, im Philadelphischen Canton, sind uns bei 50,000 Morgen angetragen worden, um ein wohlfeiles Geld, und auf lange Termin zu bezahlen. Wir werden aber das Land vorbereiten, ehe wir was kaufen.

Das Reisen geht mir hart. Ich muss besonder Muth fassen, und doch ist mir noch mehr bang um euch. Ich habe zwei Briefe geschickt von Philadelphia aus, die alles enthalten werden, wie ihr noch zu erhalten habt. —

Ihr sollt Niemand zureden, dass sie mit euch sollen, es ist eine entsetzlich weite und gefährliche Reise. Meine Rezepte und Papiere bringt mit in der Lade, und sonst die Landkarten, gute Bücher; die Bandelon sind hier theuer und nicht so gut, sonst kann man alles haben wie bei uns, nur theurer. —

Ich und der Haller reisen in Busch; wo wir hinkommen, das weiss Gott. Wenn ich nur ein Jahr älter wäre, so würde viel gewonnen sein. Es ist hier ein sehr reiches Land, alles wächst genug, mehr ungebaut als gebaut, denn man fragt hier nicht viel nach der Arbeit. Ich komme also nicht mehr in Deutsch-

land; wenn mein Bürgerrecht noch ist, so will ichs vergeben; ich bin schon Bürger hier; hier hat man alles gemein; es dantzet alles einander auf dem Land; alle Leute sind gut gegen einander, man muss sich wundern der Freundschaft. Wer hier arbeiten will, kann genug Reichthum erlangen. Es gibt hier keinen Armen, ohne der müssig geht.

Der Morgen Ackers gibt 15 bis 20c Tax, so ist alles das ganze Jahr bezahlt. Zehenden gibts so keinen. Uebrigens bin ich bis jetzt gesund, und hoffe es auch zu bleiben, bis ihr mich wieder sehet, zu meinem Trost und eurer Freude. Hier ist Religionsfreiheit genug, hier lacht man einen aus, wenn man von Partien sagt; man soll denken und glauben was man wolle, nur ein ehrlicher Mann sein, das halten sie hoch. Vor das Exerzieren muss man einen Thaler des Jahres bezahlen, wer es nicht thun will, so ist alles gut.

Das Vieh ist hier alles grösser als bei uns, auch die Pferde; die Weiber reiten wie die Mann, es ist hier eins. Vögel gibt es hier wunderschöne, und viele grosse meistens; man schiesst sie zum Essen, jederman darf es thun, das Wild gehört jederman.

Uebrigens hoffe ich eure Standhaftigkeit in Christenthum. Hier trifft man auch gute Seelen an, die das Wort vom X nicht verachten, welches das Zeichen der Nachfolge Christi ist und bleibt, welches ich auch von euch hoffe. Grüsse euch alle nochmals herzlich.

GEORGE RAPP."

After inspecting several tracts of land, George Rapp purchased 5,000 acres in Butler County, Pennsylvania, on the Connoquenessing Creek, about twelve miles from the Ohio River at Beaver. He then sent for his people. They came in several companies. The ship "Aurora" brought about three hundred persons to Baltimore, July 4, 1804. Another party of two hundred and sixty persons, headed by Frederick Rapp, left their homes May 1, 1804, and arrived on the ship "Atlantic," at Philadelphia, in August, where they were received by George Rapp. The remainder of the people came in a third ship, the "Margaretta," but these settled in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Mr. Haller, who had been Mr. Rapp's companion in exploration.

Jacob Neff, who was a member of the third expedition, wrote in verse an account of the journey. He compares their departure from Germany to the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt. After sailing down the Rhine, they stayed nineteen days at Meiden, near Leyden. They left Meiden July 6, 1805, with three hundred people on board, not all of whom displayed a sufficient amount of brotherly love. After thirteen days they touched at one of the Dutch islands, and took on supplies for the ocean voyage. Here they remained for eight days, waiting for a favorable wind. Finally they set sail, but nine days later they were stopped by an English cruiser and taken to England. After a detention of twelve days, they started again. Much rough weather was encountered and the pumps had to be manned night and day. Sixty days after leaving England they sighted America. Within sight of land, a woman died.

„Auch zuletzt noch an dem Rande
Starb ein Weib von Unterlande,
Sonsten schlief kein Grosses ein.“

Seven children died on the voyage, but to their loss the writer is easily reconciled.

„Ausser sieben kleine Kinder,
An die auf dem Land nicht minder
Auch der Tod gehabt ein Recht,
Die ihr zeitlich Leben borgten,
Und nun unter uns gestorben.“

The writer ends his account of the voyage with a modest disclaimer of either prophetic or poetic inspiration.

„Wie es künftig noch wird gehen,
Kann ich zum Voraus nicht sehen,
Dann ich bin ja kein Prophet,
Aber wie es uns ergangen,
Ist gemeld, nach dem Verlangen,
Bin deswegen kein Poet.“

Part of the settlers went at once to the new settlement. With hard work they built their town, Harmony, sustained in

their labors by religious enthusiasm. After a few months they were joined by their friends, and on February 15, 1805, the Harmony Society was formally organized.

Life in the wilderness was hard. But they were kept too busy to spend much time in repining, and their leader never lost faith in himself and his cause. Fortunately they had money enough to supply themselves with the necessities of life. They bought supplies at first from Mr. Haaga, of Philadelphia, to whom George Rapp sent \$600, February 24, 1805; \$50, May 20, and \$400, June 20, 1805. The years 1805 and 1806 were spent in building and planting. Their expenses had been large, and as yet there was little income. By May, 1806, all their money was gone.

„Wir werden hart gepresst. Es ist schon drei Monat ungefähr kein Cent mehr in der Kasse, und leben von den Geldern des Stores und Gasthauses gegen 700 Menschen. — Wir machen viel Frucht, so dass dies Jahr wir nicht mehr kaufen dürfen.“*

“During the first year, 150 acres of ground were cleared, from 40 to 50 log houses were erected, besides a house of worship, grist mill, large barn, shops, etc. Next year they cleared 400 more acres of land and erected a saw mill, tannery, distillery, brick storehouse, and planted a vineyard of four acres. They raised grain enough for themselves and had 600 bushels to sell, besides 3,000 gallons of whiskey. In 1809 they produced 6,000 bushels of corn, 4,500 bushels of wheat, 4,500 of rye, 5,000 of oats, 10,000 of potatoes, 4,000 pounds of flax and hemp, and fifty gallons of sweet oil. During this same year they made their first piece of woolen cloth, from yarn spun by hand. In 1810 they erected a woolen factory for the manufacture of broad-cloth from the wool of the merino sheep, which they were among the first to introduce into this country.—In 1810 they consisted of one hundred and forty families, numbering in all between seven and eight hundred persons; they had 2,000 acres of land under cultivation; they had a large stock of the finest sheep and cattle, and in every department of labor they had a large surplus for sale, after supplying their own wants. They had their own mechanics, carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon makers,

*George Rapp to J. Neff, July 26, 1806.

coopers, shoemakers, hatters, tailors, masons, wheelwrights, saddlers, etc., who serve not only their own community, but also the surrounding country.”*

The Society was a religious community, and provision was early made by its founder for systematic religious instruction. It was his custom to preach to the whole people twice on Sabbath, and once on Wednesday evening. For social intercourse and mutual improvement, he divided the whole community into five classes, composed of the old men, the old women, the young men, the young women, and the more youthful of both sexes together. Father Rapp made it his practice to attend the weekly meetings of these classes throughout his long life.**

George Rapp was about six feet tall, and of strong constitution, which enabled him to perform great labor without exhaustion, and to direct his community with unimpaired faculties to the age of ninety years. His blue eyes, full of fire, were shaded by heavy eyebrows. He was never idle. He was constantly in the fields and factories directing and encouraging his people. He liked to talk, and was a man of ready wit. What he said was well thought out and clearly expressed, and accompanied by a gesticulation that gave it emphasis.*** In temporal affairs he was extremely practical. He was an enthusiast only in religion. His conversation centered around religion and the conduct of life. He was an eloquent preacher. Of a kind disposition, he could rebuke with harshness when necessary.**** But he would not allow his authority to be questioned, and sometimes asserted it in a tyrannical manner. In 1832 a third of the members had withdrawn in a body and had then tried to extort money from the Society. In 1846 one of the members, Joshua Nachtrieb, had a conference with some of the seceders who wished to learn if they had any prospect of getting more money. Mr. Rapp heard of the meeting, and summoned Nachtrieb to him. He said: “You intended to raise a mob. You must go right off and leave the town.” Nachtrieb pleaded for forgiveness. He

*Williams. *The Harmony Society*, p. 54.

**Williams, *ibid.*, p. 42.

***Duke Bernhard von Saxe-Weimar, *Reise durch Amerika*, p. 204.

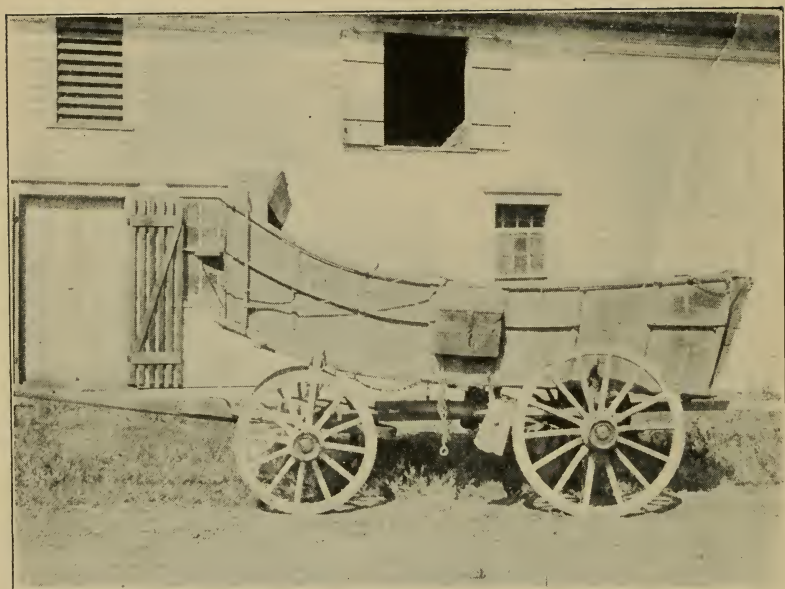
****Nordhoff, *Communitistic Societies in the United States*, p. 91.

said he was sorry, but that he would not go. "We won't have you. You must go," said Rapp. A few nights later, when the whole Society was present at a religious meeting, Mr. Rapp announced from the pulpit: "Joshua Nachtrieb and some others have gone out and conversed with the friends who have left us. He must now leave the Society; we cannot use such men." He then asked if Nachtrieb was present. "Yes, father, I am here," said Nachtrieb. He said he was sorry if he had done anything wrong, and that it should not happen again. Rapp answered: "Any fool can say that; we cannot use such men. You must leave the Society. You must be off." He then asked the Society if they agreed with him. They said they did. Nachtrieb went away two days later, having previously received from Mr. Rapp \$200, and signed a statement that he had withdrawn from the Society.** Mr. Rapp's severity on this occasion may be explained by his great age and by his bitter feeling against those persons who had left the Society and then done so much to harm it. The best evidence of the strength and uprightness of his character is the fact that he shaped the lives of the able men who were leaders of the Society with and after him, and that the respect and reverence which they always had for him was as great as that of the humblest of his followers.

The log houses at Harmony were soon replaced by better buildings. The church, hotel, the store and a number of dwellings were built of brick, in a most substantial manner. These buildings are still in first-class condition.

While the settlers were prosperous, they were disappointed in their settlement in some respects. They had raised grapes and made wine in Germany, and had hoped to engage in that industry here. But they found their land poorly adapted to the culture of the vine. As their manufacture increased, they found difficulty in transporting their goods, as they were twelve miles from the Ohio, the nearest navigable river. They accordingly decided to move, and in 1814 George Rapp, John L. Baker and Lewis Shriver explored the western country in search of a new site for settlement. They found a suitable place on the Wabash,

*Wallace, Jr., U. S. Circuit Court, p. 71.



WAGON, BUILT AT HARMONY, IND., 1824.

in Posey County, Indiana, and in 1815 the whole Society moved thither.

They had lived at Harmony for ten years. During that time one hundred members of the Society had died. Their bodies rest in a plot of ground, about one hundred and twenty by two hundred feet, surrounded by a stone wall, erected after the Society had moved away. As was their custom, the graves are not marked. The only tombstone in the cemetery is one for Johannes Rapp, the son of George Rapp. This is not in position, but is lying on its side against the wall. Over the portal of the gate is inscribed: „Hier ruhen 100 Mitglieder der Harmonie Gesellschaft, gestorben 1805—1815.“ This, together with the substantial brick buildings of the village, is all the memorial the Harmonists have left in their first home in America.

CHAPTER IV.

Harmony, Indiana, 1815-1825.

George Rapp and his companions in the journey of exploration in 1814, found a site for a new settlement, with which they were greatly pleased. It was a tract of uncleared land of some 30,000 acres, in southwestern Indiana, mostly in Posey County, on the Wabash River, 70 miles from its union with the Ohio. The land was fertile and well watered. It was so level that there was no good water power, but this want was remedied by buying a steam engine for the mill. In fact they were pioneers in introducing steam power for milling purposes in that western country. They could always reach the Ohio by flat-boat, and the Wabash itself was navigable for steamboats at high water. George Rapp, February 8, 1814, in a letter to Frederick Rapp, describes his new purchase thus:

„Ob es schon jetzt miserabel genug aussieht, so sieht das Auge der Hoffnung grosse und schöne Pläne, Schafweide ist genug da, aus lauter Hochland mit schönen frischen Bächwasser durchflossen, und wir dürften unser Lebtage den Fuss nicht über einen Stein heben, und Felder und Wiesen so eben als der Stubenboden, und doch Fall zum Wasserablaufen. Eine Dampfmaschine musst du doch haben, wenn du anders wirst die Manufactur fortführen.“

That the Society had prospered greatly at Harmony, Pa., is shown by their ability to buy so large a quantity of land in Indiana. From May 6, 1814, to October 31, 1816, they bought 24,734 acres for \$61,050; to May 18, 1819, 2,867 acres for \$7,318.64; to August 1, 1824, 1,444 acres for \$2,841.80.

Most of this land was bought from the United States land office at \$2 an acre. A small portion of it was bought from private individuals, at prices ranging from \$8.65¾ an acre for a tract of 288 acres from John Grayson, September 6, 1814, to \$2 an acre for 70 acres bought of John Caldwell, October 31, 1816. They later sold some land and donated 100 acres for the site of

the town of Springfield, but in 1820 they still had remaining 26,993 acres; 25,208 acres in Posey County, 1,479 acres in White County, and 155 acres in Gibson County.

George Rapp had, in June, 1814, gone ahead with a hundred of his followers to prepare the new settlement for the habitation of the Society. The town they built was called "Harmonie." Frederick Rapp was left in charge at Harmony, Pa. He was now 40 years of age, and had acquired confidence in himself as a man of business. The only thing he was afraid to manage was a steam engine. He sold the Harmony establishment to Mr. Ziegler for \$100,000, which he estimated to be a profit of \$8,000. May 8, 1815, he wrote from Pittsburg to George Rapp:

„Ein Mann namens Ziegler kaufte sie (die Harmonie), sie gab \$8,000 profit — Ich habe kein Geld in Hand verlangt, weil ich nicht sehe, dass wir es brauchen. —

Von der Art habe ich alle Tage neue Geschäfte, und bin ein rechter Weltmann, nichts setzt mich mehr in Verlegenheit als das Steam Engine, ich habe noch keines accordiert — es ist so sehr weit von der Hand wenn es aus order kommt, werde aber doch genöthigt sein, nächsten Freitag zu accordieren. — Dass Bonaparte wieder am Thron in Frankreich ist, wirst in der Zeitung gesehen haben, es ist bestätigt dass es wahr ist, möchte der Himmel der alten Mutter den Untergang bestimmt haben. — Es ist eine miserable Gegend hier — es ist gut dass wir fort kommen.“

F. R.

A few weeks later he left Harmony with the remainder of the members. They embarked on the Ohio at Beaver, and after a fourteen days' voyage, they arrived in good shape at their new home. Frederick Rapp was well satisfied with the change, he was pleased with the progress the new colony had already made, and hoped for great succes in agriculture and manufacture. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to David Shields, July 7, 1815:

"Respected friend:—We have, after a pleasant voyage of 14 days, arrived in good health with our people. I found my father and all my friends well, and satisfied with the change we made, finding the land excellent and beautiful. They have done immense work, and already 125 acres are in corn 8 to 10 feet high. Harvest began the last week in June. Wheat and rye proved very good. It appears that this country in a few years will be-

come in regard to cultivation of small grain and commerce, one of the most important parts of the Union. The land is taken up and settled very fast. On the 4th of July, 150 persons have come into our town, all living within from 6 to 12 miles of us.

The climate is somewhat warmer here than in Butler County, yet it is not so extraordinary hot as the people think there. The greatest heat ascended only to 95°. A constant and pleasant zephyr from the west renders the air cool and moderates the heat, more so here than in your country. The water is very good. Our vineyard and orchard grow wonderfully, and give hopes that this country is well calculated for them. Our machines lie motionless till fall. We are all engaged in building houses and clearing land. Store goods are scarce and sell very well here. Silver is plenty in circulation, and might get a great quantity for Eastern notes with several percent premium.—My father finds himself right well here and makes you his cheerful compliments. My sister is well also, and sends her respects to Miss Shields.

With great esteem, I am,

Your sincere friend,

FREDERICK RAPP."

But the settlers were soon attacked by the scourge of that rich low lying region, the fever and ague. August 15, 1815, Frederick Rapp wrote:

"Painful are the reports of violent prevailing sickness from every quarter. Many of the people are taken with high fevers. Some prove dangerous. The same complaints are frequent among our neighboring settlers. My father and family are well. I myself enjoy tolerably good health."

But with the approach of winter, the fever left them, their health became better and their courage returned. In his letter of December 23, 1815, to John Woods, Frederick Rapp, shows the spirit of the true pioneer in his delight in conquering the wilderness.

"This climate seems to be very suitable for raising wine, and we shall strive to supply the western world with this article in a few years, and so we do not regret in any way the change which we have made. As our principles are both in a religious and political way to serve men, we have more opportunity here

than we had in Pennsylvania to make of a wild country, fertile fields and gardens of pleasure."

In a letter of February 2, 1816, to John Purviance, he describes their estate more fully, expresses his confidence in the future of the west, and at the same time is not unmindful of the critical state of affairs in Europe.

"Our land is the best he has seen in America, in quality and situation. Has all kinds of useful timber, abounds in fine springs, free stone for buildings, fine clay for bricks and excellent for pottery. Six miles from here on our own land is good iron ore, where a furnace may be built, good navigation at all seasons. This will be in a few years the most flourishing county in the United States, not only in agriculture, but also in commerce and domestic manufacturer. The country is being settled rapidly. The climate good. The highest temperature in summer was 96°, the lowest in winter, 8°.

"We enjoy on an average better health than in Pennsylvania, many of us had the ague and fever last fall, but that may be attributed to change of climate. Men of learning and good moral character are very desirable in this country, that the old natives might be brought to better order through them. We have made a pretty good beginning to a new settlement, and it is admired by everybody, what the industry of a nation which lives in peace and union can do in a short time.

"They have for three months hired 40 to 50 hands in clearing land, and pay them \$6 to \$8 an acre. They have 800 acres under fence; every family has a good log house. They will build better houses this summer. The political world in Europe has suffered great change and will bear greater ones in a short time more than ever, as the spirit of the time, which is suppressed at present, will get stronger and break out unexpected with might and finish his plan."

The settlement made wonderful progress. Their land was soon cleared by themselves and hired men, the fertile soil yielded varied and abundant crops, and mills and factories were soon in operation. An inventory of the buildings and real estate at Harmony, January 16, 1819, will convey an idea of the variety and extent of their industries:

150 log dwelling houses.....	\$10,500.00
1 frame tavern and stable.....	1,000.00
Mr. Rapp's brick house.....	3,500.00
1 brick storehouse.....	2,000.00
1 brick shoe and tailor shop.....	2,000.00
1 brick house.....	2,500.00
1 frame steam mill.....	1,000.00
1 mill and machinery.....	1,000.00
1 steam engine.....	6,000.00
1 wool factory, frame.....	800.00
1 brick dye house.....	400.00
2 frame graneries.....	3,000.00
1 barn with threshing machinery....	2,000.00
2 barns	2,000.00
3 sheep houses.....	1,000.00
9 stables	950.00
2 still houses with machinery.....	1,500.00
1 brewery and machinery.....	500.00
1 frame church.....	1,800.00
3 houses	1,800.00
1 tan yard and vats.....	500.00
1 hatter's shop	150.00
1 soap boiling shop.....	225.00
1 blacksmith shop.....	200.00
1 wagon maker's shop.....	175.00
1 carpenter shop.....	200.00
1 cooper shop.....	200.00
1 turner and tinner shop.....	100.00
1 weave shop.....	100.00
1 stocking weaving shop.....	60.00
1 turner shop.....	50.00
1 potter shop and oven.....	150.00
1 storehouse and lot in Zelinpole....	700.00
1 house and lot in Springfield.....	949.00
1 doctor shop and laboratory.....	210.00
1 oil and hemp mill.....	500.00
2 saw mills by water.....	1,000.00
1 sadler shop.....	120.00
1 rope maker shop.....	25.00

2 brick yards and ovens.....	150.00
1 frame water mill and machinery....	5,000.00
24 corn cribs.....	310.00
27,662 acres land cost.....	68,369.59
640 acres sold.....	1,535.49
1,450 acres cleared land.....	17,400.00
Cleared farms	2,472.19
	<hr/>
	\$140,830.29
Amount due on land.....	1,255.17
	<hr/>
	\$139,575.12

The products of their fields and forests sold in 1818 for \$13,141.83, in 1819 for \$12,441.83. These products were: Wheat, corn, oats, hides, fur, butter, wax, horses, cattle, hogs, shingles, sugar, linen, tobacco, cheese, flax seed, hops, hemp.

To these may be added as raw products between 1817-1820: Rye, barley, deer skins (in 1817, 722; 1819, 645 skins), hog skins, bear skins, wolf skins, horsehides, raccoons, otters, muskrats, beavers, minx, rabbits, pork, venison, hog fat, tallow, quills, feathers, eggs, bristles, bacon, thread, tar, powder, cloth, bags, honey, baskets, grass seed, wool, sheep, flax, geese, cider, apples, chairs and yarn.

They sold their products and manufactured articles throughout the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, from Pittsburg to New Orleans. At some places they had stores of their own, as at Harmony and Shawneetown. At other places they disposed of their goods through agents. Abashai Way & Co. were their agents in Pittsburg; Mr. Phillips, in Louisville; John Caldwell managed their store in Shawneetown; they dealt with Frederick Dent in St. Louis.

It had been the intention of the Society to build a steamboat of their own, immediately on going to Indiana, for the purpose of transporting their own goods to market, but for some reason this steamboat was not built until 1824. However, they sometimes sent flat-boat cargoes from Harmony as far as New Orleans. In 1823 Jonathan Lenz took such a cargo, valued at \$1,369, to New Orleans. This cargo consisted of 39 kegs of lard,

100 kegs of butter, 680 bushels of corn and oats, 40 barrels of whiskey, 88 barrels of flour, 103 barrels of pork, 32 oxen and 16 hogs.

Their manufactured goods were of superior quality and commanded higher prices than similar articles manufactured by less reliable parties.

The following letter from Frederick Rapp to Peter Bass, of Columbia, Mo., January 2, 1823, gives wholesale prices of articles manufactured by them :

"Mr. Peter Bass,

Columbia, Mo.

By last mail I received your favor of the 7th ult., stating that you had purchased in Nashville some goods manufactured in this place and were pleased with them. The objection of their being too high has scarcely ever failed to cease with those who wore them.

The following are our wholesale prices of different articles manufactured here, to wit :

1st quality blue, black, etc., broadcloth, per yard,.....	\$7-\$8
2d quality blue, black, etc., broadcloth, per yard,.....	\$5-\$6
3d quality blue, black, etc., broadcloth, per yard,.....	\$3-\$4
4th quality blue, black, etc., broadcloth, per yard,.....	\$2-\$2.75
Cassinets of various mixtures, per yard,.....	\$.75-\$1.25
Flannels of various colors, per yard,.....	\$.50-.75
Fur hats, per dozen,.....	\$36-\$54
Merino wool hats, per dozen,.....	\$18
Common wool hats, per dozen,.....	\$9.50

Domestic cotton goods made here :

Plaids, striped, Cambray checks, etc., per yard,.....	\$.25-.50
Shirting, per yard,.....	\$.20-.28
Sheetings, per yard,.....	\$.28-.37

Boots and shoes of all sorts at various prices.

Woolen socks, per dozen,.....	\$6-\$9
Woolen stockings, per dozen,.....	\$12-18
Saddles from \$9 to \$18 per piece."	

The manufacturing enterprises met with unexpected difficulties. When they first went to Indiana, specie was plenty, but in a few years this disappeared and the depreciated state paper currency was almost the only money to be had. This money

the Society sometimes refused to take, declining orders for goods rather than accept such pay for them. Then, too, the demand for their woolen goods was not so great as anticipated, as imported woolens could be bought at a lower price. In 1815 Frederick Rapp had accepted Kentucky state paper at 37½c. per dollar. Later he refused to take it at all. In 1819 he wrote to A. Way & Co.:

“Worse than robbery is yet the depreciation of state paper currency, whereby one saves money robbed only of its value. Bank bills at par or moderate discounts with you, or in the cities are few in number.”

The next year he complained that the scarcity of money in the western states was continually getting worse. Frederick Rapp was not the man to submit quietly to these industrial evils. He had ideas as to how to remedy them, and he strove to have them adopted. In 1820 he made suggestions as to a Property Bill, which had been proposed in the Legislature. In 1823 he submitted a memorial to the Legislature in regard to the state bank, and wrote to prominent persons requesting their influence to have a law passed to remedy the evils which he pointed out.*

To exclude foreign manufactures, he advocated a high tariff. By that, home industries would be encouraged and a market provided for farm products. The depressed condition of the farmer, resulting from the importation of foreign wares, is depicted by him in a letter to Samuel Patterson, February 12, 1824:

“It is very desirable that the efforts of those patriotic members now in Congress, should meet with success in their endeavors to lay heavy duties on all such foreign commodities, which could be manufactured in our own country if the undertakers were better supported by the government. Where else may the now languishing farmer look for a market with any certainty, to sell his surplus products, but to numerous and extensive manufacturing establishments within our own country. While the latter are forsaken, the farmer after toils and perils in quest of a market for the fruits of his industry arrives at his journey’s end, where the great influx from every direction has glutted the stores and warehouses with superabundance, has the misfortune of see-

*Letter November 2, 1823, to Moses Tabb and Charles Dewey.

ing his last hope vanishing and himself doomed to sacrifice his cargo and return home with an almost empty purse and broken heart to his needy and disappointed family. Such are the pictures we daily witness, and regret that the means to better their condition is seemingly denied to them. May a wise policy govern in future our legislators to promote the welfare of the country."

The demand for woolen goods was so unsatisfactory that in 1819 it was uncertain whether they would continue their manufacture.* The next year affairs were in a still worse condition. Almost every one in the western country was financially embarrassed. There was very little money in circulation and scarcely any that passed at par. They had almost stopped the woolen factory, as there was so little sale for cloth, and were giving most of their attention to agriculture and mechanical branches connected with it. But notwithstanding the general depression, they themselves had not yet felt hard times, as they were used to a modest living and had plenty of supplies.**

In the census report of this year, 1820, Rapp stated that \$50,000 was the market value of the goods manufactured annually, and of their trade he wrote:

"Of its past condition not much can be said, as only five years have elapsed since the Society wholly settled this place, where, upon their arrival, the first stick was yet to be cut in an uninhabited thick timbered wilderness; when, however, the increasing population of the surrounding country soon offered fair prospects to the various branches of establishments the Society was erecting; but at the present day those prospects are repulsed in a great measure by the embarrassing circumstances of pecuniary matters and no demand for nearly all the different fabrications.

Among all, that of the woolen factory meets with the greatest neglect and discouragement owing to the vast prejudice prevailing against domestic woolen goods."

When manufacturing did not pay, they devoted their energies to agriculture. And here there was no disappointment.

*Letter to A. Way & Co., July 31, 1819.

**Frederick Rapp to Stephen Stone, March 11, 1820.

Their fertile land yielded them more abundant crops than in Pennsylvania. For wool alone, the country was not so well adapted, as the sheep were smaller and the wool of an inferior quality.*

July 9, 1819, Frederick Rapp wrote to David Shields (Sewickley) of the condition of the Society:

"The people in Harmonie and the vicinity are well. We have nearly finished gathering an abundant crop of wheat, rye and barley, and corn looks very promising. There is a better prospect for wine this season than ever we had before. Should Harmonie, Ind., be honored by your visit, I should be able to treat you with Wabash wine."

In a letter of June 27, 1823, to Mr. William Young, he gave a still more glowing account:

"It is now fall harvest with us, and we are actively engaged in reaping wheat; the crop will only be middling, but the quality very good. Our rye is all cut; it turned out very well this year. barley, more yielding than ever, is already gathered in the barns. Corn and oats look very promising. We have also a very fine prospect for wine, and our orchards are heavy loaded with fruit. The builders of our town are progressing rapidly in rearing up good houses for the benefit of its inhabitants, whose industry is everywhere blessed with plenty, and their united efforts crowned with success. They have by constant application converted the wilderness into pleasant gardens and extensive fields, and those engaged in the creation of them are conscious of having done their duty and cheerfully happy."

Owing to prudent management, in spite of the hard times, the Society prospered financially and accumulated large sums of money. In 1819 it was worth \$368,690.92. In 1823, in response to an inquiry, they stated that they were willing to loan money to the State of Indiana, at 6% interest. The next year, they were able to pay for their new estate at Economy, Pa., and the expense of moving to it, before they had received any money from the sale of their Indiana property. After taking stock of their property at the time of this sale, Frederick Rapp stated that

*Letter of Frederick Rapp to Geo. H. Müller, May 14, 1819.

his expectations of the prosperous condition of the Society had not been disappointed.

Frederick Rapp was a large, handsome man. He unselfishly devoted his great business talents to the common good. To him more than any one else was due the successful direction of the Society's affairs. His personal qualities, as well as his prominence as a manufacturer, gave him a wide influence in the State of Indiana. As a delegate from Gibson County, he was one of the forty-one members of the constitutional convention, which met at Corydon, from June 10 to June 29, 1816, and framed the first constitution of the State.* He was one of eight commissioners appointed by the Legislature, which in 1820 selected the site of Indianapolis as the permanent seat of the State government.** He took an active interest in politics and his support was much sought after by candidates for office.*** He repeatedly urged the Legislature to pass such laws as he thought would benefit the community.

Frederick Rapp's correspondence reveals him as a man not only of good judgment, but of refinement and tender sympathy. He could administer a rebuke in a forcible manner, but without bitterness, even with kindness. One of their agents, Thomas I. Hawkes, had defaulted with money due the Society. June 28, 1823, Frederick Rapp wrote him:

"Mr. Phillips told me with regret that you had left Louisville early last fall and had gone down the river after selling the cloths I sent you at auction, and receiving the greater part of the value for them, which really surprised me to hear, and I immediately anticipated a disastrous result as a just punishment for your temerity in suffering yourself to be misled by a false prospect of gain at the risk of honor and confidence of your friends.

"Your letter of the 20th of May, from St. Francisville, is just received. I am truly astonished that my anticipation, not my wish, has been so soon verified. Still I feel sorry for your mis-

*Legislative and State Manual of Indiana for 1899-1900, page 1232.

**Bolton, *Early History of Indianapolis*, in *Publications of the Indiana Historical Society*, Vol. I, p. 153.

***The statement that Frederick Rapp was a member of the legislature is incorrect. This statement occurs, among other places, in Lockwood: *The Harmony Communities*, p. 39.

fortunes, and hope that they may be an everlasting remembrance and lesson to you henceforth to appreciate true friends, and spare them the regret of having misplaced their confidence. I heartily wish you may soon retrieve your lost health, property and reputation in the circle of your friends. Should your expectation be realized, or better success reward your future efforts, and enable you to pay me, you may deposit the money with Mr. Phillips, at Louisville, in whose care I have left your accounts."

When Frederick Dent, of St. Louis, failed to meet his obligations, he wrote to him in the following superior manner, November 4, 1824:

"After the return of R. L. Baker to St. Louis, I have been informed that he did not succeed in collecting of you the amount of those two notes due me in consequence of your inability at this time, and that you kept your active capital employed in a trade up the river, by means of which you expected to be able to pay me next summer.

"Since I am not inclined to disemploy any industrious member of society, by plucking away the instruments of his diligent pursuits, I have concluded to wait and hope you will not fail in your performance this time.

"To your proposition in regard of selling to you a quantity of our manufactured goods on a credit, I do not feel disposed to accede. Since our Society is changing its settlement, we do not wish to continue transactions of this kind, but rather to bring all to a close. On the subject of opening a store at St. Louis, I would have more favorable ideas, since it might be advantageous to our establishment and manufacturing enterprises. Should you visit this neighborhood, please give us a call, and we will converse together about the same."

But when occasion required it, he could assume a much harsher tone toward delinquents. He could criticise sharply the defects of fellow Germans. He wrote August 2, 1821, to his brother, G. Reichert:

„Manche der Deutschen, welche in den letzten Jahren hie in diesem Lande angekommen sind, hatten die Meinung, dass man hier zu Lande ohne Arbeit gut leben könne. Sie haben aber weit gefehlt; in kein Land taugt ein Müssigänger weniger

als in Amerika, weil noch so vieles zu thun ist, bis es in der Cultur den alten Ländern gleich kommt. Ueberhaupt scheint es bei den Neuankommenden, dass das Sitten- und moralische Verderben in Deutschland seit unserer Abreise sich sehr vermehrt haben muss; dann die alte deutsche Ehrlichkeit und Fleiss, als Hauptzüge des deutschen Charakters, sind fast ganz verschwunden. Wann es bei der grossen Masse des Volks das nemliche ist, wie bei den Ankömmlingen in dieses Land, so muss es für den ganzen Staat üble Folgen haben.“

With his high views of morality, he combined a sense of humor. When his friend Judge Blackford was defeated for Congress, he wrote, October 3, 1825, to John D. Hay, Vincennes:

“I am sorry Judge Blackford has again lost his election, and this event must of course affect his popularity. Yet I hope he is philosopher enough to bear the loss with fortitude and take recourse to a comfort, like a candidate in early times, who, after losing his election, gave a great and splendid dinner to his friends, at which he at once arose and thanked God that his country could furnish thirty better men than he was.”

In a letter February 13, 1824, to Samuel Patterson, he gave the following explanation of a mistaken order:

“Enclosed you will find Mr. D. Smith’s direction, sent last fall with this yarn, by which the manufacturer was guided in working it up. Mr. Smith, instead of mentioning shawl, as it is commonly spelled, and as now appears was intended, inserted the word “shells.” This expression was understood as a new fashioned term, “the shell of anything being the compass thereof.” A riding coat was considered as such and the yarn was manufactured accordingly.”

Frederick Rapp was a stone cutter and architect by trade. He was a man of literary, scientific and artistic interests. Soon after settling on the Wabash, he gave an order for Klopstock’s “Messias,” and two paintings, “Christ healing the sick” and “Peter preaching at Pentacost.” In 1821 J. Reichert and R. L. Baker went to Germany to collect money due members of the Society. On their return in 1823, they brought besides several choice varieties of grapes, some books, a pocket telescope, a camera obscura and two astronomical charts, at the request of Frederick Rapp.

He wrote of art:

"The art of painting is certainly very delightful and amusing. Fleet and unnoticed hours pass away to finish an object to please our fancy or imitate the pattern from which we draw. Never have I been able to satisfy the magical power of my mind, in progressing as fast as I should wish in this beautiful accomplishment, not speaking of the infinite source the Creator has furnished us for contemplation and admiration of the great variety, beauty and wisdom exhibited in his works all through nature. Sometimes after reflecting on the curiosity of the structure, color and scent of a flower or herb, I feel greatly animated to express my feeling toward his omnipotence, who has made so many things for our youth and pleasure. I hasten to my piano to mingle with the sensations of my mind the sweet tune of my instrument and the sounds of my voice in a *Te Deum* or some other piece appropriate to the situation of my mind. By such a change I always find myself invigorated to pursue my usual studies with new courage, which, although various, still tend to the same object, to improve the mind and acquaint ourselves with nature and its Creator."

He was a good musician. Several hymns in the Society's collection were composed by him. In the absence of George Rapp, he officiated as preacher. His business made it necessary for him to make frequent visits to Pittsburg, Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia. At such times he attended the theatre and opera. September 19, 1830, he writes from New York to Gertrude Rapp that he had not been able to hear any good music, and that he was about to buy a piano. There were pianos in several of the houses of the Society. Still, he was happiest among his own people. On returning from a visit to Philadelphia, he wrote to George Sutton, December 2, 1817:

"On my journey, I became so weary of the world, and particularly of the city life, that I am very glad to live again among my friends, who have uprightness for their rule, and where, instead of fashionable luxury, simple frugality governs the rudder."

Notwithstanding the busy life, the settlers must have led in conquering the wilderness and developing their industries, they did not neglect their intellectual and religious interests. The

church and its services always were an important element in the life of the Society as a religious community.

In 1819 they paid \$600 for having their *Harmonisches Gesangbuch* printed in Allentown, Pa. They had their own bookbinder and press on which they printed some religious pamphlets. The same year they imported a bell from England for their church.

A school had been established by them in the beginning, and has continued until the present time. Two of the trustees, Mr. Henrici and Mr. Duss were teachers of this school. In the early years the children of the Society and the community were taught, principally in German. Some of them were taught Latin, French and English. Later both English and German were taught to all. In recent years the instruction has been in English, but opportunity is given for those to learn German, who wish to do so.

On the Wabash the Society had its musical organization, its band. The leader of this band was an accomplished musician, Mr. Müller, who sometimes accompanied Frederick Rapp on his journeys to the East. The musical traditions of the Society have never been allowed to die. The band furnished music on festive occasions, while in the church service the organ was skillfully played. Mr. Lenz played the French horn in the orchestra, Mr. Henrici played the first violin in the orchestra, the organ in the church, and composed music. Mr. Duss is a musician of high attainment. As a composer, and director of the band and orchestra organized by him, he has attracted wide attention. The Duss musical organizations doubtless owed their conception to the band of the Harmony Society, and may be regarded as its successors.

From 1815 to 1819 the Society subscribed to the following newspapers: *Western Sun*, *Indiana Herald*, *Indiana Sentinel*, *Mercury*, *Harrisburger Morgenröthe*, *Friedens Bothe*, *Aurora*, in Philadelphia; a Lancaster, Pa., paper; *Western Courier*, Louisville; *Argus of Western America*, *Ohio Adler*. In 1822 Frederick Rapp subscribed for the *Reformer*, of Philadelphia.

In their store at Harmony, they kept a large stock of books to supply the public. Among those in stock in 1825, were: Bibles, French Revolution, Plutarch's Lives, Memoirs of Napoleon, History of Religion, Webster's Grammars, Summer's Bot-

any, Pilgrim's Progress, Researches in Asia, Thornton Abbey, Mose's Geography, Mississippi Navigation, Mercantile Arithmetic, Roman History, Goldsmith's Rome and England, Washington's Life, Vicar of Wakefield, Son of a Genius, Ready Reckoners, Mexico, American Pilots.

They had a library of 360 volumes for their own use. In this library were works on religion and literature, and scientific works.

The Society never became so engrossed in its business enterprises that it could not help the needy. They paid the way of many poor emigrants who came from Germany with the view of joining the Society. Some of these joined the Society; many did not. April 10, 1819, \$950 was sent to Jacob Boller, of Philadelphia, to ransom three families of emigrants who were detained at that port. These were persons in whom the Society had no personal interest. In fact they rather hoped they would not come to them. The same year they brought John Kall and wife from Pennsylvania to Indiana. Kall was an old German, who wanted to end his days with his son-in-law, who was a member of the Society.

In regard to these persons, Frederick Rapp wrote, April 30, 1819, to A. Way & Co., Pittsburg:

"John Kall and his family arrived here some time ago, they complain very much of ill treatment by the captain, who did not furnish them with necessary provisions according to the agreement, but let them suffer. I expect those three families of German emigrants, left on board of ship in Philadelphia, as you stated on the 11th ult., have been since ransomed on our account, by Mr. J. Baker, and perhaps now on the way to Pittsburg, will call on you for assistance. We wish you may let them have their own choice, whether to come here or not. Such who are desirous of coming, you may assist in getting passage in a boat, and of such who would rather stay in or about Pittsburg you may take a bond or note for their passage money from Europe to Philadelphia, and expenses from there to Pittsburg (the amount of which themselves or their companions can tell you), payable in three equal yearly payments. If they would not give such a bond or note, you may let them go their own way, rather

than to encourage or assist them or any other in the future to come here, unless particularly instructed. The consequences we experienced by those that I brought out, prove that venomous corruptions in morality prevailing in Germany, and various prejudices gathered from artful calumniators on their way through this country, have generally too deeply rooted into their hearts, that neither law nor gospel is able to bring them to a natural understanding, and produce a sound moral or physical deportment with them, far less religious sentiments."

In 1824 the Harmonists determined to move from the Wabash to Economy, Pa. This new site was not more than twenty miles from their first home at Harmony, Pennsylvania. It was situated on the Ohio River, eighteen miles from Pittsburg. May 11, 1824, Frederick Rapp wrote from Pittsburg to J. Solms, Philadelphia:

„Ich habe, seitdem ich Sie verlassen habe, ein Stück Land 18 Meilen von hier an der Ohio angekauft, welches an der Landstrasse nach Beaver und Ohio State, und dem Ohio River liegt. Wir werden wohl nach und nach alle darauf hinziehen; es hat eine schöne und gesunde Laage, es wird aber, wie Sie mit Recht gegen den Editor bemerkt haben, unserer Harmonie nichts benehmen, sondern unsere Einigkeit wird bleiben und im geringsten keinen Abbruch leiden, sondern um so mehr beweisen, dass es Harmonie ist, indem schwerlich eine andere Klasse Menschen von der nämlichen Volkszahl, zu einem solchen Unternehmen einig werden würde.“

The reason usually given for this move is that they found the Indiana climate too unhealthy. This was one reason, although not the chief one. On first settling there, they had suffered much from fever and ague, but in the course of ten years, they had become acclimated. In their letters reference is frequently made to the good health of the community (for example, by Frederick Rapp, September 8, 1821, and June 21, 1823, John L. Baker, March 12, 1824). August 13, 1824, Frederick Rapp wrote to Joseph F. Fink:

„Unsere Gesellschaft geniesst gegenwärtig gute Gesundheit, und haben einen ziemlich reichen (aber nassen) Sommer an Getreide aller Arten, viel Obst auch Wein usw.

„Immer aber ist uns diese Gegend etwas zu heiss gewesen, welches uns veranlasste kürzlich einen andern Platz zu kaufen und dort niederzulassen; haben da auch schon eine Stadt angelegt, welche Economy genannt wird.“

There had been some friction between them and their western neighbors, and they desired to move to a more congenial neighborhood. Frederick Rapp later assigned this as one reason for moving. The decisive motive is given in a letter from R. L. Baker to Mr. I. R. Woods, July 6, 1824:

“Induced by several motives, our Society will probably leave this section of the country and settle itself in Pennsylvania on the banks of the Ohio, not far below Pittsburg, where we intend manufacturing more largely.”

They had attained skill in manufacturing and found their western home ill suited for that occupation. It was too far from the eastern market and the currency of the western states was too unreliable. They regarded Economy, near the headquarters of the Ohio, as a more favorable location. It made the eastern market accessible, while they could reach the west and south by water almost as easily as before. Here they purchased a comparatively small plot of ground, 3,000 acres, intending to devote their energy to manufacturing, not to agriculture. At the same time they came to a community where they were favorably known, and where they had old friends; and a more healthful and beautiful site than Economy they could scarcely have found anywhere.

April 11, 1824, Frederick Rapp had written to Richard Flower to advertise in England the Indiana property for sale. Mr. Rapp's advertisement will give the best idea of the extent of the settlement:

“Town of Harmonie with 20,000 acres of first rate land adjoining, situated on the East bank of the Big Wabash, 70 miles by water from its mouth, only 15 miles by land from the Ohio River. Wabash is navigable at all seasons for boats of 20 tons burden, and a great part of the year for steamboats of middle class. 2,000 acres of highly cultivated land, 15 of it in vineyard, 35 acres in apple orchard, containing 1500 bearing apple and pear

trees. Considerable peach orchards and pleasure gardens with bearing and ornamental trees.

One large 3-story water merchant mill; extensive factory of cotton and woolen goods, 2 saw mills, 1 oil and hemp mill, 1 large brick and stone warehouse, 2 large graneries, 1 store; a large tavern, 6 large frame buildings used as mechanics' shops, 1 tanyard of 50 vats, 3 frame barns, 50x100, with 1 threshing machine; 3 large sheep stables, 6 2-story brick dwellings, 60x60; 40 2-story brick and frame dwellings, 86 log dwellings; all houses have stables and gardens; 2 large distilleries, 1 brewery."

Mr. Flower soon found a prospective purchaser in the person of Mr. Robert Owen. Mr. Owen visited Harmony in January, 1825, and after inspection, decided to buy the whole establishment. He agreed to pay \$150,000.00 for the lands and houses, and also bought the articles in the store, consisting of books (mentioned above), glassware, china, groceries, dry goods, leather, silks, linen, woolen, calicoes, cutlery, hardware, harness and furs, and their machinery and in addition all their stock of cattle and horses which they did not take with them, viz.: 140 milk cows, 125 steers, 5 bulls, 28 heifers, 700 sheep, 250 hogs, 16 horses, 8 wagons and carts, 8 ploughs, also whiskey, wool, furniture. For these Mr. Owen paid the sum of \$40,000.00.

In the summer of 1824, George Rapp, as was his custom, went ahead with an advance party of about 90 persons to Economy, to prepare a new home for the reception of the main body, which was still at Harmony. A letter from a child of this party to a friend in Indiana, gives a glimpse into the life of the new colony. George Rapp directs the work and encourages the others by his teaching and example. On Sundays the people assemble for religious instruction and their leader teaches personally, even the little girls. It shows something of the secret of George Rapp's success as a leader:
Liebste Freundin:

„Economy, den 14. November 1824.

Wir denken, du wirst auch begierig seyn, unseren Umtrieb und tägliche Geschäftigkeiten nebst unseren grossen Haushaltungen, welche euch bekannt sind, zu lernen. Wir haben wohl viel Arbeit, aber ihr dürft deswegen keine Sorgen haben; wir sind

doch dabei immer gesund, munter und vergnügt. Des Morgens, wenn wir unsere häusliche Arbeit verrichtet haben, gehen allemal zwei Mägdlein mit den Kühen auf die Weide, welche sie auch des Abends wieder holen; und so ist unsere Ordnung den ganzen Sommer, und alle Tag zwei andere; aber ihr darft nicht denken dass es uns beschwerlich sei, unser Gesang dazu ist: Früh am Morgen, treiben wir mit Sorgen, unsere Küh' ins Thal. Unsere Vormittagsgeschäfte sind, Häuser auszuräumen vor euch, weil wir beim nächsten grossen Wasser einen Theil von euch erwarten, und des Nachmittags gehen wir ins Bloek, Feuerschieren und Recheln, und dein Grossvater ist immer bei uns, und macht uns viel Muth, hilft uns auch zeitenweis Feuerschieren, und das mehreste Vergnügen ist, dass wir immer so innig und zufrieden sind, wie Geschwister. Wir lieben einander jetzt vielmehr als zuvor, ehe wir so zusammen kommen sind, denn der Umgang und Bekanntschaft macht viel aus.

Sonntags gehen wir zusammen, als wenns eine Compagnie wäre, und sind begriffen im Lernen. Wir haben schon drei Stück bekommen von deinem Grossvater, zwei haben wir fertig und am dritten sind wir noch; jetzt haben wir vorgenommen einen Bewillkommensfahnen zu machen, weil wir besorgen, wenn ihr kommt, ihr möchtet an uns vorbeifahren. — Was der Stadtplatz anbelangt, wirst du schon alles erfahren haben, aber du würdest dich jetzt recht wundern, wie er verbessert worden ist. Es hat uns alle herzlich erfeut, dass wir Erlaubniss bekommen haben, dir eine Antwort zu schreiben. Diesen Brief haben wir in unserem kleinen Gemeinhaus geschrieben. Wir grüssen dich alle herzlich.“

Frederick Rapp had remained behind at Harmony to settle up the business there and direct the moving of the Society. It was no easy task to move a community of some 700 persons, and a large amount of freight. Frederick Rapp wrote March 11, 1825, to John Caldwell, that he would pay as much as \$1000 for a steamer to carry a cargo from Harmony to Economy. But even at that rate he had difficulty in securing transportation. In anticipation of such difficulty, the Society had proceeded to the execution of the project of building a steamboat of its own. The construction of the boat was commenced in the fall of 1824, at

Pittsburg, Mr. Way attending to the matter for them. In November the boat was launched. The following letter from John L. Baker to Gertrude Rapp, from Economy, November 24, 1824, is interesting as describing the launching and as an exercise in English composition:

"Dear Gertrude:

I frequently hear with great pleasure, in Frederick's, and your own letters to your grandfather and aunt, of your health and welfare of all our friends. I also perceive at the same time your rapid progress in learning, and silently admire the beautiful sentences which flow from your juvenile mind into your pen when writing letters. Believing that you must have acquired considerable knowledge of the English, since we left you, and might be glad perhaps of a little new matter for practice, induce me to write you these few lines in hopes that you will be pleased to answer in English at your leisure.

Knowing that everything that passes here is always so carefully stated by your grandfather, that there is nothing new left for me to mention, and I was at a loss for a while to find a subject to write until a few nights ago, when after the bustle of the day, either selling goods or working in grandfather's grand new garden, I was sitting solitary near a little stove in the store, the idea struck me that perhaps the seat of nature, which you have seen while here, might interest you, of which, however, I only can say that its beauties are vanished. Those verdant hills you saw embellishing the borders of the Ohio and the valley of Economy, gradually changed the emerald shade of their foliage from a dark green to a yellow, red and brown, then dropped and left their lofty station bare of ornament. The pine and hemlock trees alone with bows of evergreen along the bank look pleasant yet. All others lost their leaves, nipped with hard autumnal frosts. The tender plants of wheat and rye in our fields, which scarcely show their feeble blades for want of timely rain, seem lively still, and seem to indicate a hope of spring. Alas! before that comes we must expect them buried under snow and ice, and we like nature's self, wrapped up in winter clothes, keep our firesides in those long dreary nights and be contented to talk of our friends which are withheld from our sight by a long distance, or visit

them on wings of mere imagination and then return unsatisfied and with uncertainty, still have recourse in hope that as soon as those now mournful trees on the declivities of the surrounding hills begin to bud, and all the feathered tribe, inhabitants of the forest, commence their cheerful songs on its bedewed boughs, and nature be restored again, that then, time after time, we hear the sounds of cannons, a harbinger of good news for us, reverberating through the recesses of the neighboring mountains, announcing the approach of our dear beloved, and when the bent bugle's echo from beyond yonder shore, tells us that our friends are close at hand, and let us all together join our voices with nature's chorus and sing: Hallelujah.

Since the above was wrote, a new scene presented itself to us, a description of which will certainly be interesting to you. A few days ago it was announced that our steamboat is going to be launched, and we requested to attend. Your grandfather and myself with Mr. Shields and other friends, went there on Saturday, the 27th inst. When all was ready, grandfather was called upon to give the boat a name, he called her "William Penn," which found applause with all the people present, and at one o'clock she left her stocks with not less than sixty men and boys on board, and seeming anxious for her element she flew with the velocity of a bird, under the congratulations of the great number of spectators for success to William Penn, and in less than one minute she split the deep and crossed her future path, covering the smooth surface of the river with rolling waves. All exclaimed that no vessel went off with more elegance. Not the least accident happened, either to men or boat, and after touching the opposite shore, she was brought back, riding majestically on the water, under general praise. All went on board. A number of our friends partook of our cold dinner on deck and drank of the Wabash wine, toasting success to William Penn. Every where appeared order and cheerfulness, and we returned well pleased and satisfied to our home, where we arrived at twilight.

Remember me to your grandmother, mother, Fleckhammer, and all in the house, also to my mother, brother and sister; tell

them that I am well, and wish you and them good health, with all our friends.

JOHN L. BAKER."
(To Miss Gertude Rapp, Harmony, Ind.)

By February, 1825, the boat "William Penn" was finished and ready for service. With this and several other steamboats, the moving was successfully completed. Frederick Rapp, with the last party, left Harmony May 5, 1825, glad to leave a place which they could no longer call their own, as it was fast getting into the possession of strangers.* At the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, they were obliged to transfer to the steamer Bolivar, which, after a pleasant journey brought them to Economy, May 17, 1825.

*Frederick Rapp to John D. Hay, May 10, 1825.



Town Hall at Economy.



Street in Economy, showing the Church, Town Hall and "Great House."

CHAPTER V.

Economy, Pennsylvania, 1825-1868.

The names of "Harmony" and "Unity" were suggested by some as names for the new town, but that of "Economy" was adopted. The name is significant of the character of the Society at that time. It was now to be pre-eminently an industrial community. In 20 years the members had acquired skill in certain lines of manufacturing. A reputation for the excellence of their wares had been established and a wide patronage had been acquired. A sufficient capital had been amassed to allow them to extend their operations without embarrassment. For their projected industrial enterprises, they could not have chosen anywhere a better site.

After providing themselves with shelter, they exerted themselves to get their factories into operation as soon as possible. A week after his arrival at Economy, May 25, 1825, R. L. Baker wrote two of the Society's agents, John D. Hay, at Vincennes, and John Caldwell, at Shawneetown:

"We arrived here in the steamboat Bolivar, on Tuesday, the 17th inst., after a pleasant voyage, and found our friends in good health, busily employed in erecting houses, for the reception of the rear or last part of us—33 roomy and convenient frame buildings besides 20 comfortable log houses are finished and more on hand.

A manufacturing house of brick has been commenced this

week in the shape of an L, each wing 80 feet long, the engine to be placed in the center, the power of which will be applied in one part for cotton, in the other for wool.

Lumber and other materials for building can be had any time on the river, at fair prices, and the great road leading from Pittsburgh to almost all the western parts of the country running through the town, besides the Ohio River, which runs here a due north course, adds much to the vivacity of the place."

June 14, 1825, Frederick Rapp wrote to John Caldwell: "In December next our manufactories will again be in operation, as usual, and on much better plans than formerly. We will be able to fill your orders as well in the cotton as woolen line to any extent. We enjoy good health and are busily engaged in building."

December 16, 1825, he wrote: "Our cotton mill will be in operation in two weeks. Our steam flour mill with three pairs of stones will be in operation in five or six weeks."

The vigor and promise of the Society in its new home are attested by two notable observers who visited it in 1826—Friedrich List and Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. Both were men of keen observation, wide experience and sound, practical sense. Both were most favorably impressed with what they saw at Economy.

List wrote later *Das Nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*, and it was he, who, on his return to Germany, took the lead in the movement for the construction of railroads in that country. He had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies of the kingdom of Würtemberg, but in 1821 had been expelled from that body and condemned to ten months' imprisonment at hard labor for presenting to the Chamber a petition which the ministers considered too liberal. To escape punishment, he fled to France, where he became acquainted with Lafayette, who invited him to come with him to America, in 1824. List was unable to do so, but came over the following year, and joined Lafayette in Philadelphia, and was introduced by him to many leading Americans. List was looking for a place for permanent abode. With that purpose he came to Pittsburg, and from there visited Economy. It was evening when he reached the town. „Es läutete Abend," he wrote, „wie im heimlichen Schwabenland." He was received

with the greatest friendliness by Rapp and the Harmonists, and was delighted to hear again the sounds of his native Swabian dialect. The next day he inspected the various institutions of the Society, and was so impressed with what he saw, that he conceived a plan for the organization of education on the model there shown him. „Ungeachtet die Colonie erst ein Jahr angefangen, wohnen die Leute alle schon sehr gut und reinlich; vor vierzehn Monaten war hier noch Wald, jetzt frohe und vergnügte Gesichter. Es stehen ungefähr hundert Häuser, ein grosses Fabrikgebäude mit zwei Flügeln, eine Kirche, ein Wirthshaus, ein herrlicher Garten, mehrere Morgen gross, mit Weinberg, aller Arten Blumen, Orangen, Citronen, Feigenbäume, Baumwolle, Tabake; man geht durch Traubenlauben.“

List was greatly pleased with the personality of the leader, and the spirit of harmony among the members. He thus outlined his plan for the training of boys for practical life:

„Ich stelle, wie in jener Anstalt, den Grundsatz fest, dass die Colonisten alle häuslichen Geschäfte selbst verrichten, und dass sie alle gewöhnlichen Bedürfnisse des Lebens sowohl an Victualien als an Kleidungsstoffen selbst producieren. Ich suche irgend einen Hauptindustriezweig auf (etwa Fabrikation von Tuch, Schuhen usw.) auf welche die jungen Colonisten ihre übrige Zeit verwenden und woraus wenigstens so viel gewonnen werden könnte, als zur Besoldung der Lehrer und zur Anschaffung derjenigen Bedürfnisse, welche die Colonie nicht selbst erzeugt, erforderlich wäre. Ich verwende sieben Stunden auf die Arbeit und fünf Stunden auf den Unterricht. Die Zöglinge theile ich nach ihren Fähigkeiten in solche, welche eine Wissenschaft oder Kunst, und in solche, welche ein Gewerbe oder den Landbau zu ihrem vorzüglichen Fach machen. Jene werden, sie mögen dereinst in Lagen kommen, in welche sie wollen, nie in Verlegenheit gerathen, da sie in Ermangelung einer Gelegenheit ihre Kenntniss geltend zu machen, hinlängliche Kenntniss und Uebung in Handarbeiten erlangt haben, um sich damit fortzubringen, diese werden so viel aus den Wissenschaften sich aneignen als nötig ist, um für gebildete Mechaniker zu gelten. Ist eine einzige solche Anstalt gelungen, so ist damit der Grund zu einer Propoganda gelegt; das Vorbild ist gegeben. Daraus

gehen Lehrer für andere ähnliche Anstalten hervor, die den Geist der Anstalt auf jene übertragen.“*

Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, born May 30, 1792, was the second son of Karl August. He fought at Wagram on the French side with such bravery that on the field of battle he was decorated with the order of the Legion of Honor by Napoleon himself. From 1811 to 1813 he travelled in Italy and France. He entered the Dutch service and fought at Waterloo with distinction. His advancement was rapid. In 1823 he travelled in England, Scotland and Ireland. In April, 1825, he started on a fourteen months' visit to the United States. He was well received, and thought for a time of settling here. In 1825, and again in 1829, he rejected the plan proposed by Russia, of placing him upon the throne of Greece. In 1847 he took the command for three years of the Dutch East Indian army in Java. He was a man of great energy of body and mind, of sound judgment and extensive knowledge.

While in America, he visited both New Harmony, Ind., and Economy, Pa. May 17, 1826, he was in Pittsburg, and intended to visit Economy the next day, when to his surprise, Frederick Rapp appeared and invited him to go home with him. He accepted the invitation.* He gives the following account of his visit:

„Als wir den Ort erreichten, fuhren wir zuerst an zwei rauchenden Ziegelöfen vorbei. Alsdann kamen wir an ein neu errichtetes Haus. Auf demselben standen drei Waldhornisten, welche bei unserer Annäherung zu blasen anfangen. An dem Wirthshaus, einem schönen grossen framehaus, empfingen uns der alte Herr Rapp an der Spitze der Vorsteher seiner Gemeinde. Es waren graue Häupter und ehrwürdige Greise. Die meisten waren mit Herrn Rapp vor ein und zwanzig Jahren aus dem Württembergischen ausgewandert. Nach der ersten Begrüssung führten sie uns in ein einfach aber geschmackvoll eingerichtetes Zimmer. Wir unterhielten uns daselbst eine Zeitlang und setzten

*Quoted from Friedrich List, *Gesammelte Schriften*, von Ludwig Häusser herausgegeben. Erster Theil, P. 149.

*Reise seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nordamerika in den Jahren 1825-1826. Weimar, 1828, p. 204 ff.



HOTEL, AT ECONOMY.



WOOLEN MILL, AT ECONOMY.

uns dann alle zu Mittagessen. Die Tafel war mit deutschen Schüsseln besetzt; an ihr herrschte eine fröhliche Herzlichkeit.

Ich war durch das, was ich über Herrn Rapp und seine Gesellschaft gelesen, und was ich noch neulich in New Harmony gehört hatte, wirklich gegen ihn und die Seinigen eingenommen; um so mehr freute ich mich, dass ich hierher gekommen war, um mich durch den Augenschein eines Anderen zu belehren und eines Besseren zu überzeugen. Niemals habe ich eine so wahrhaft patriarchalische Verfassung gesehen als hier, und das, was die Menschen gewirkt haben, spricht am besten für ihre Einrichtungen und für die unter ihnen herrschende Eintracht.

Auffallend ist es allerdings und sehr zu verwundern, dass es einem so einfachen Manne, wie Herrn Rapp, gelingen kann, eine Gesellschaft von fast 700 Personen so fest zusammen zu halten und sie dahin zu bringen, ihn gewissermassen als einen Propheten zu verehren. — Sie nennen ihn Vater und behandeln ihn als Vater.

Nach dem Essen gingen wir im Orte herum. Es ist sehr regelmässig angelegt. Die Strassen sind breit und in rechten Winkeln. — In vier Tagen, den 22. Mai, wurden es erst zwei Jahre, da man auf dem Platze, wo jetzt Economy steht, den Wald wegzuhauen angefangen hatte; als Denkmäler standen die Baumwurzeln noch überall in den Strassen. Es ist zum Erstaunen, wie viel vereinte und zweckmässig geleitete menschliche Kräfte in so kurzer Zeit auszurichten vermocht haben!

Viele Familien wohnen noch zwar in Loghäusern; einige Strassen bestehen aber schon gänzlich aus reinlichen, gut gebauten Framehäusern, die auf eine gewisse Distanz von einander errichtet sind, damit jedes Haus von einem Garten umgeben bleibe. Von Backstein erbaut waren nur die vier Stockwerke hohen Wollen- und Baumwollen-Manufacturen, Herrn Rapps Wohnhaus, jedoch noch nicht ganz vollendet, und ein im Bau begriffenes Haus zum Waarenlager.

In den Fabrikgebäuden wurden alle Maschinen durch eine Dampfmaschine, welche die Kraft von 75 Pferden hatte, von hohem Druck, in Pittsburg gemacht, in Bewegung gesetzt — Vermittelst Röhren, die von der Dampfmaschine ausgehen und durch alle Stockwerke und Arbeitsplätze sich ausbreiten, wird zur Winterzeit die Heizung bewirkt. Alle Arbeiter, und nament-

lich die Weiber, haben eine sehr gesunde Gesichtsfarbe, und die treuherzige Freundlichkeit, mit welcher sie den alten Rapp begrüßten, rührte mich tief. Auch gefiel mir sehr, dass auf allen Maschinen Becher mit frischen, wohlriechenden Blumen standen. Die herrschende Reinlichkeit ist ebenfalls in jeder Hinsicht sehr zu loben.

Nach Besichtigung dieser interessanten Fabrik, gingen wir in Herrn Rapps provisorisches Wohnhaus zum Theetrinken und Abendessen. Ich lernte hier seine unverheiratete etwas abgeblühte Tochter kennen und seine blühende Enkelin Gertrud.

Die Tafel war mit schönem Silberwerke geschmückt, und der alte Rapp schien Freude daran zu haben, mir seinen wohlerworbenen Wohlstand zeigen zu können. — Den Abend brachten wir gleichfalls bei Herrn Rapp zu. Er liess die musikalischen Mitglieder seiner Gesellschaft zusammen kommen, um uns mit Musik zu unterhalten. Miss Gertrud spielte Pianoforte und drei Mädchen sangen, die anderen Instrumenten bestanden aus Violinen, Violincello und zwei Flöten.

Ueberall bemerkte man die Spuren der Thätigkeit und der kindlichen Hochachtung, in welcher der alte Rapp bei seinen Jüngern steht. Auch das Vorrathshaus ward uns gezeigt, wo alle hier verfertigten Artikel zum Verkauf und zum Verschicken bereit liegen; und ich bewunderte die Güte aller dieser Gegenstände.

Endlich führte Herr Rapp uns noch einmal in das Manufaktur-Gebäude, denn, sagte er, die Mädchen hätten ganz besonders meinen Besuch ausgebeten, damit ich sie singen hören möchte. Während sie sich nämlich von der Arbeit ausruhen, versammeln sie sich in einem der Arbeitssäle, zwischen 60 und 70 an der Zahl, um geistliche und andere Lieder zu singen. — Der alte Rapp hat viel Freude am Gesang, und die Mädchen müssen sich jetzt besonders damit beschäftigen, seitdem die Gertrud herangewachsen ist und musikalischen Unterricht bekommt. Ein Stuhl steht für den alten Patriarchen bereit, den die Mädchen hereinbringen. Er setzt sich in ihre Mitte und die Mädchen beginnen den Gesang, der wunderbarlich klingt. Er ist natürlich sehr vollstimmig und äusserst gut arrangiert. Die Mädchen singen

vier Lieder, anfangs geistliche und zuletzt auf Herrn Rapps Verlangen, auch lustige. —

Wir nahmen herauf in Herrn Rapps Haus ein sehr gutes Mittagsmahl ein, und die musikalischen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft liessen sich bei dieser Gelegenheit aufs beste vor dem Hause vernehmen. Das Orchester war zwölf Personen stark und spielte wirklich sehr brav. —

Beide Herren Rapp, zumal der alte, redeten mir sehr zu, mich in ihrer Nähe niederzulassen und zehn Meilen weiter, am Beaver Creek, die sogenannte Beaver Falls, für \$25,000 zu kaufen. Da könnte ich Eisenwerke anlegen, sagten sie, und sehr viel Geld erwerben; sie und ihre Gesellschaft wollten mir mit Rath und That zur Hand gehen!

Mit ganz eigenen Gefühlen verliessen wir nach drei Uhr das freundliche und werktätige Economy — Bezahlung nahm man im Wirthshaus nicht an — und fuhren durch dieselbe schöne Gegend, durch welche wir gestern gekommen waren, nach Pittsburg zurück.“

They had brought with them from Indiana, manufactured goods to the value of \$35,000. With these they supplied their trade, until their factories were again in operation. A statement made by Frederick Rapp, 1831, shows the value of cotton and woolen goods manufactured during the preceding five years, the profit in the industries, number of hands employed, and wages paid.

“Statement about manufacturing, 1831, by Frederick Rapp: Use steam power in both wool and cotton factories.

Established 1826.

Capital in cotton factory, \$25,000.		Wool, \$30,000.	
Amount of wages in cotton factory, \$3,400.00			
Amount of wages in woolen factory, \$10,634.00			
Profit in Cotton business	%	Woolen	%
1827	15		14
1828	14		15
1829	12		16
1830	8		18
1831	12		14

Cause of decrease of profit in cotton; the low price due to competition.

Cause of increase of profit in wool to 1830: the protective tariff.

Cause of decrease since 1830: Importation of foreign goods and high prices of wool.

Value of Product.

Wool.	Cotton.
1827, \$35,681	\$22,966
1828, \$40,399	\$22,372
1829, \$57,453	\$19,427
1830, \$70,504	\$16,805
1831, \$84,571	\$18,730

The woolen factory employs 50 men, at \$3.50 per week; 15 boys at \$2.50; 15 females, at \$1.00.

They work 12 hours per day.

Men at common labor earn \$3 a week.

Women at common labor earn \$1 in the same district.

The Cotton factory employs 4 men at \$3.50 per week.

The Cotton factory employs 60 females, at \$1.25 per week.

Goods are shipped from 18 to 500 miles. They are generally sold on a credit of six months. The present rate of duty is sufficient, if strictly enforced.

Cotton. Materials, 50%; Labor, 38%; Profit, 12%.

Wool. Materials, 55%; Labor, 30%; Profit, 15%."

While wool and cotton were two important industries, the Society was at the same time engaged in the manufacture of silk, whiskey, wine, beer, flour, hats and other articles.

The amounts of sales and purchases during the first five years, at Economy, were as follows:

Amount of Sales and Purchases by and for the Establishment	
1826.	at Economy.
Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$35,366.27
Amount of Mdse. sold out of the store and not entered	
in the Sales Book.....	4,076.00
Amount of Cash taken in by the Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths and Hatters.....	3,637.73
	<hr/>
	\$43,080.00
Amount purchased during same year.....	\$97,177.87

1827.

Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$67,810.88
Amount of Mdse. sold at the store.....	5,025.12
Amount of Mdse. sold during wool season.....	1,975.00
Amount of cash taken by Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths and Hatters.....	4,347.00
	<hr/>
	\$79,158.00
Amount purchased same year.....	\$81,400.75

1828.

Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$68,450.97
Amount of Mdse. sold out of the store.....	5,975.03
Amount of Mdse. sold during wool season.....	2,125.00
Amount of cash taken by Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths and Hatters	5,944.00
	<hr/>
	\$82,495.00
Amount purchased same year.....	\$64,620.50

1829.

Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$73,265.39
Amount of Mdse. sold out of store.....	6,250.00
Amount of Mdse. sold during wool season.....	2,075.61
Amount of cash taken by Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths, Hatters and Museum.....	5,855.00
	<hr/>
	\$87,446.00
Amount purchased the same year.....	\$90,100.95

1830.

Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$159,806.39
Amount of Mdse sold out of store.....	6,378.00
Amount of Mdse. sold during wool season.....	1,550.00
Amount of cash taken by Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths, Hatters and Museum.....	7,132.63
	<hr/>
	\$174,867.02
Amount purchased the same year.....	\$84,110.96

1831.

Amount of Mdse. sold per Sales Book.....	\$121,228.50
Amount of Mdse. sold out of the store.....	7,025.00
Amount of cash taken by Tavern, Doctor, Shoemaker, Smiths, Hatters and Museum.....	9,327.80
	<hr/>
	\$137,581.30
Amount purchased the same year.....	\$153,216.15

Most of these purchases were raw materials: wool, cotton, grain. They had agents in various parts of the country buying wool for them, and they bought all the grain in the market. In 1829 Frederick Rapp wrote to John Clarke: "We would have purchased a great deal more if we could have got it, but the country around us is too poor to furnish us grain enough. We are therefore obliged to raise nearly as much as we want, which we never would do if we could buy it."

The success of their industries was so great that they soon controlled the Pittsburg market. They, of course, incurred the ill-will of their competitors. In 1829 a series of articles appeared in the *Alleghany Democrat*, attacking them as a monopoly with which individual merchants and manufacturers could not successfully compete. These had to buy wool at "Economy prices," and the purchaser refused to pay more than "Economy prices" for the manufactured wares.

„Sie (Economy) hat Gewalt und übt dieselbe aus, um unsern Markt im Handel zu regulieren, dieses ist eine Thatsache, zu handgreiflich und offenbar, um unbeobachtet vorbei zu passieren, und ein Uebel zu drückend, um unbemerkt zu bleiben.“

Farmers who raised Spanish wool had to sell it to Mr. Rapp, because the other woolen factories in and about Pittsburg, which were small, could not work up the fine wool.

Mr. Rapp was enlarging his factory, while others would not embark in woolen manufacture on account of his competition.

The writer advocated the dissolution of the Society by the State.

The Sales Book gives the amount of sales from 1830 to 1843. This does not include goods sold through the store, which

from 1826 to 1830 were about 10% additional, and the statement may be also in other respects incomplete.

Sales for 1830 amounted to.....	\$159,806.39
Sales for 1831 amounted to.....	121,228.00
Sales for 1832 amounted to.....	84,284.00
Sales for 1833 amounted to.....	126,426.00
Sales for 1834 amounted to.....	73,424.00
Sales for 1835 amounted to.....	95,024.00
Slaes for 1836 amounted to.....	118,625.00
Sales for 1837 amounted to.....	102,313.00
Sales for 1838 amounted to.....	99,619.00
Sales for 1839 amounted to.....	64,969.00
Sales for 1840 amounted to.....	66,209.00
Sales for 1841 amounted to.....	56,770.00
Sales for 1842 amounted to.....	12,977.00
Sales for 1843 amounted to.....	16,046.00

Total, 1830 to 1843.....	\$1,197,720.39
Purchases during same period....	813,096.00

Balance, ..	\$384,624.39
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The most important articles of this trade were cotton and woolen yarn and cloth, hats, wool, whiskey, blankets and flannels. The Bills of Lading show large shipments of leather, cider, plants, apples, flax seed oil, flour, fruit trees, hides and wine. Shipments were made to all points in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and to points as far east as Boston and Springfield, Mass.

While the Society was thus engaged in manufacturing, it was also engaged in agriculture on a large scale. The following memorandum, by Mr. Baker, of Harmonie Harvests, shows the extent of their agricultural operations from 1816 to 1865:

MEMORANDUM OF HARMONY HARVESTS.

Year.	Wheat.			Rye.		Spelt.	
	Acres.	Doz.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bu.	Acres.	Bu.
1816		5,972	2,700		1,000	7	464
1817	206	15,367	5,679	50	1,127	32	1,495
1818	250	13,644	6,236	50	954	30½	1,185

1819	316½	16,720	6,409	45	1,136	44	1,758
1820	355	19,975	7,674	54	1,550	40	1,391
1821	296	14,390	4,907	36	935	22	1,159
1822	262	13,812	4,167	92	1,066	25	1,239
1823	239	10,813	3,558	40	820	20	1,003
1824	306	16,000	5,545	30	843	¼	10
1825	80	3,621	1,350	44	923	1	45
1826	90	4,804	1,641	52	816		
1827		12,865	4,353		976		
1828	172	7,922	2,370	53	901		
1829	200	12,779	3,706	51	844		
1830		15,276	5,231		1,060		

Year.	Barley.		Oats.		Corn.	
	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.	Acres.	Bushels.
1816				1,700		
1817	9	723	100	3,099	162	
1818	20	1,189	75	2,704	206	8,892
1819	49	1,460	102	4,085	191	8,246
1820	62	3,070	98	1,764	158	
1821	45	1,811	122	3,330		
1822	72	1,678	179	4,580	135	10,700
1823	46	1,930	170	4,840		5,133
1824	51	2,329	150	4,042		5,133
1825	13	231	60	2,025		
1826	35	776	115	3,372		
1827		1,738		4,961		
1828	51	1,463	200	5,800		
1829	43	880	217	5,234		
1830		1,413		7,567		

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Corn
	Acres	Bu.	Acres	Bu.	Acres	Bu.	Acres	Bu.	Bu.
1831		3,724		1,086		1,387		5,097	
1832		1,063		1,156		562		4,974	
1833		3,179		580		989		4,751	
1834		3,652		284		900		5,732	..
1835		3,606		1,326		974		7,022	
1836		3,300		601		1,058		4,974	

1837	147	4,071	50	1,274	22	760	97	3,396	
1838	110	2,912	30	754	10	465	130	4,677	
1839	130	4,311		1,109		1,051		6,156	
1840		3,575		830		674		5,585	
1841	133	2,540	32	847	4	197	132	5,248	
1842		3,606		846		498		5,283	
1843		3,613		742		514		4,363	
1844		3,196		296		421		5,146	
1845		1,694		34		183		2,633	
1846		3,458		335		147		4,268	
1847		1,703		564		156		4,402	
1848		2,029		352		722		4,696	
1849		2,016		435		544		3,076	
1850		1,972		449		559		3,319	
1851		3,114		527		659		2,765	
1852		2,100		683		512		3,735	
1853		1,727		488		444		2,500	
1854		2,100		534		583		3,861	
1855		2,841		531		585		3,661	5,000
1856		2,073		3,70		559		4,592	2,880
1857		2,394		534		635		4,406	3,240
1858		1,529		434		400		3,291	2,430
1859		1,839		398		447		2,310	4,160
1860		1,512		498		577		4,077	
1861		2,735		432		380		3,650	
1862		2,812		649		240		2,480	
1863		2,684		372		355		2,952	
1864		2,094		918		221		2,987	
1865		1,695		390		314		2,422	

Quantity of grain sowed in one acre: Rye, 1 bushel; Wheat, 1 bushel; Winter Barley, $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel; Summer Barley, $1\frac{1}{4}$ bushel; Buckwheat, $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel; Spelt, 2 bushels; Oats, 2 bushels; Flaxseed, $1\frac{1}{4}$ bushels; Hempseed, 3 bushels; Rapeseed, 1 quart; Turnip seed, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint; Timothy, 3 quarts; Blue Grass, 1 quart; Herd Grass, 1 quart; Clover, 3 quarts.

In addition to above crops, beans, clover, timothy, rape and buckwheat were also raised.

Another memorandum gives a statement of the liquors made in 1863, viz.:

Catawba wine	27	bbls.
Currant wine	147	bbls.
Boiled cider	69	bbls.
Common cider	59	bbls.
Crab cider	85	bbls.
Beer	42	bbls.
Brandy	6	5 bbls.
Whiskey	244	bbls.

December 31, 1863, the liquors on hand were:

Whiskey	519	bbls.
Boiled cider	215	bbls.
Crab cider	65	bbls.
Common cider	30	bbls.
Beer ..	20	bbls.
Currant wine	303	bbls.
Catawba wine	101	bbls.
Apple Brandy	18	bbls.
Catawba Brandy	4	bbls.
Peach Brandy	5	bbls.
Vinegar	90	bbls.
Apple syrup.....	8	bbls.
Brandy ..	3	bbls.
Champagne wine.....	18	bbls.
Champagne cider	16	bbls.

At the same time the Society owned 22 horses, 5 colts, 44 sheep and 73 hogs.

In 1864 the liquor made was:

Currant wine	118	bbls.
Grape wine	20	bbls.
Boiled cider.....	245	bbls.
Not boiled cider.....	65	bbls.
Crab cider	45	bbls.
Beer	89	bbls.
Cider for vinegar.....	60	bbls.
Rye whiskey	181	bbls.
404 bbls. of whiskey on hand.		

In 1866 the amounts were made:

Beer ..	84 bbls.
Currant wine ..	15 bbls.
Catawba wine ..	29 bbls.
Cider ..	595 bbls.
Vinegar ..	70 bbls.
Whiskey ..	152 bbls.

In 1863 the woolen factory was still in operation on a small scale.

In that year 1,227 yards of goods were woven.

Mr. Baker made an estimate of the value of the Society's property in the years 1863 to 1866.

This estimate was:

1863.	
Mortgages	\$141,661
Bonds	551,000
Stocks	87,010
Real Estate.....	177,699
Cash ..	57,339
	<hr/>
	\$1,014,709

1864.	
Mortgages	\$131,185
Stocks	95,413
Bonds	707,321
Agreements	3,250
Real Estate.....	274,535
Cash ..	10,736
	<hr/>
	\$1,222,440

1865.	
Mortgages	\$185,546
Bonds	736,000
Stocks	70,000
Cash ..	19,900
Real Estate	274,535
Interest & Divids..	52,498
	<hr/>
	\$1,338,479

1866.	
Mortgages	183,030
Bonds	836,000
Stocks	132,263
Real Estate	650,000
Cash	17,550
	<hr/>
	\$1,818,843

These estimates do not include their establishment at Economy which was valued at \$209,734.00 at an earlier period.

This estimate gives a picture of Economy at its highest industrial development.

1 brick store house.....	\$2,500.00
1 family warehouse	200.00
1 brick house for mechanics.....	3,000.00
1 large brick dwelling for Museum..	4,500.00

1 tavern	3,500.00
1 church ..	3,500.00
2 bells and clocks.....	2,500.00
1 new granary.....	1,500.00
1 brewery ..	1,000.00
1 distillery ..	800.00
1 soap boiling shop.....	400.00
3 steam wash houses.....	225.00
1 barn with threshing machine....	800.00
1 steam engine to do it.....	1,000.00
Stables ..	1,800.00
1 house with wine press.....	250.00
2 fire engines.....	600.00
George Rapp's house and stables..	4,000.00
1 tannery	1,500.00
1 hat shop	400.00
1 blacksmith shop, 5 furnaces.....	400.00
1 wagon maker's shop.....	100.00
1 saddler's shop	100.00
1 turner shop.....	150.00
1 linen weaving shop.....	350.00
1 tinner's shop.....	100.00
1 carpenter shop	150.00
1 potter shop	150.00
1 doctor's shop	100.00
1 silk worm house.....	500.00
1 cooper shop	100.00
1 oil and saw mill.....	1,000.00
1 school house.....	600.00
1 old granary	400.00
43 family brick houses at \$600.....	25,800.00
6 double frame houses at \$600.....	3,600.00
47 single frame houses at \$500.....	23,500.00
8 small frame houses at \$350.....	2,800.00
9 one-story frame houses at \$200....	1,800.00
2,976 acres of land at \$20.....	59,520.00
Cotton factory and machinery.....	20,503.00
Grist mill and machinery.....	9,000.00
Woolen factory and machinery....	25,036.00

\$209,734.00



FLOUR MILL AT ECONOMY.



SILK FACTORY AT ECONOMY.

In 1846, as was shown by the investigation in the Nachtrieb suit, the total value of the Society's property was \$901,723.42.

The year 1866 was probably the high water mark of the Society's material prosperity. The large increase in the value of their real estate in that year was due to the development of oil production. It was before the epoch of their foreign investments, which proved so costly.

From 1830 to 1850 attempts were made in many parts of the United States to raise silk. Probably the earliest, and at any rate the most successful, of these experiments was made by the Harmony Society. This enterprise was conducted with the same energy and intelligence as their other industries, and they succeeded in manufacturing most beautiful silk. An exhibit of their silk fabrics, which was arranged for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, may be seen at Economy to-day. Owing to an unfavorable climate the process of raising the silk worms was expensive, and they were not able to manufacture silk goods at prices which could compete with foreign fabrics. They had begun the culture of silk with the purpose of supplying their own needs.*

Soon after the settlement of Economy, a friend of Father Rapp's sent him some silk worms with some suggestions in regard to silk culture. In 1826 they raised the first silk. In the following years they continued experimenting. They were encouraged in 1838 to enter into the business on a larger scale.

Their experiment attracted the attention of many persons in the United States, who were interested in the matter. From all parts of the country inquiries came to them in regard to machinery for silk manufacturing, for silk worms, and information on the subject. The Society took great pains in answering these inquiries in the hope of contributing to the development of another national industry. They frequently invited their correspondents to visit them and see for themselves their establishment. Miss Gertrude Rapp, grand daughter of George Rapp, was Superintendent of the silk business. From 1842 to 1852 a special letter book was kept, containing correspondence in regard to silk. The first letter in the collection is by Miss Rapp, at that time 34 years of age.

*George Rapp to W. R. Schetterly, September 26, 1845.

"Economy, February 14, 1842.

Mr. William C. Hickman,

West Chester, Chester Co., Pa.

Your favor of the 11th of January last came to hand. I have now at last found time to attend to a number of letters about the silk business which have been accumulating on my table. In reply to your inquiries, I will state that our principal cocoonery, two-story, is 25 feet wide and 57 feet long, with common board shelves. Our first crop in the spring was 5 ounces, producing 781 pounds of cocoons. After this crop, we varied in the quantity of eggs. We raised about fifteen crops after the first, yielding from 100 to 400 pounds of cocoons; our whole crop was 4,435 pounds. The spring crops are always better than the later, or those in the fall. Our crops are mostly a week apart. We keep no account of hands employed. Our worms spun mostly at the age of 23 to 28 days. When small, we feed eight to ten times, during the day only; in the last age, five or eight times during the day, and some were fed once in the night in order to hasten their growth. We clean them once in the first age, twice in the second, three times in the third, and once a day in the fourth. For the two first ages of the worm, we consider 80° Fahr. well adapted; afterwards from 75° to 77°. In our ice house we keep the eggs at a temperature of 40° to 50°. When taken out, we expose them to 55°, then to 60°, 65°, 70°, 75° to 80°; in the last they hatch. They are left from two to three days in one temperature, and will by this mode require ten to twelve days after they are moved from the ice house until they hatch. We feed leaves altogether. During spinning time, we give a temperature of 75° to 80°. We always try to avoid a sudden change of air by using furnaces, which are very useful, especially in damp weather. Frequent feeding is advantageous in all stages, day or night. Sudden changes in temperature are very injurious to both eggs and worm, and if they are not kept warm during the spin, the cocoons will not reel well. With the exception of a few attacks of diseases among the worms, we have done very well last season; but one of them was attended with serious consequences. It is supposed the cause was in not taking sufficient care in ventilating.

Yours truly,

GERTRUDE RAPP."

August 30, 1844, Miss Rapp sent an exhibit of her silk goods to the Boston Fair. This exhibit consisted of:

10½ yards ladies' figured dress silk, at \$1.25 per yard.

1¼ yards figured velvet vesting, at \$6.00 per yard.

4 yards bird's eye vesting, at \$2.00 per yard.

12 yards figured satin vesting, at \$3.00 per yard.

6 figured bordered shawls, blue, \$1.50 a piece.

1 white pocket handkerchiefs, \$1.12½ a piece.

1 floss silk.

This exhibit was awarded a gold medal.

In 1838 Miss Rapp had exhibited specimens of black and figured satin vestings, for which the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania awarded her a testimonial of approbation.

September 5, 1844, she sent to the American Institute, New York, for exhibition.

10 yards figured dress silk, \$1.25 per yard.

4 yards figured velvet vesting, \$6.00 per yard.

12 yards figured satin vesting, \$3.00 per yard.

4¾ yards bird's eye satin vesting, \$2.00 per yard.

6 blue red border shawls, \$1.50 a piece.

6 white shawls, \$1.50 a piece.

12 white pocket handkerchiefs, \$1.12½ a piece.

4 pieces flowered ribbon, 14¾ yards.

8 pieces plain ribbon, 127 yards.

These are the Economy retail prices. This exhibit obtained a gold medal as a special award.

With this exhibit Miss Rapp sent the following letter to the Secretary of the Institute, in which she shows a just pride in what she has accomplished:

"Economy, Pa., September 25, 1844.

T. B. Wakeman, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary of the American Institute, N. Y.
Sir:

In conformity to the request expressed in the circular of your institute of July 1, 1844, I send you for exhibition, some of our latest manufactured silk goods as per invoice annexed:— They, with those from other sources, will serve as facts, by which all reasonable doubters may be conclusively convinced that the

production and manufacture of silk, this new and most important branch of national industry, for the promotion of which your institute evinces such a praiseworthy zeal, is as possible, and can be carried on as successfully in this country as in any other on the globe. I have even the pleasure to be able to maintain that we can do here what probably has never been done in any of the old silk-growing countries, namely, to go in regular succession through the whole process of the silk business in one season, beginning with the raising and gathering of the mulberry seed and ending with the manufacture of the woven fabric. All of which I can prove by the following facts: On the 30th and 31st of May this year, we gathered a quantity of mulberry seed from a number of choice trees of the Canton mulberry, which is the earliest of all the kinds we are acquainted with. On the following day, June 1st, we planted part of that seed in regular rows in several well prepared beds. In about 10 days the seed came up finely, and as the weather was favorable, and no weeds were suffered to grow with the young trees, they progressed beautifully and vigorously, so that on August 1st, we were able to commence the feeding of a small lot of worms on the foliage of them; and as both worms and trees continued to grow in good proportion, the quality of the leaves was always very suitable to the age of the worms. On the 26th of the same month, they commenced winding and produced a small lot of very fine cocoons, the greatest part of which we reeled, spun, twisted, colored and manufactured into ribbon, the rest we kept for seed and other purposes. Samples of which I send you with the other silk goods. They may be exhibited as a representation of the entire silk business as performed in one season; and after the fair, the worthy institute will please accept them as a present. Said samples are put together in the following manner:

1. Some Canton mulberry seed, gathered May 30, 1844.
2. Three Canton mulberry trees, raised from that seed, sown June 1st, taken out of the ground September 23d, measuring without roots, from 3 feet 4 inches to 3 feet 6 inches.
3. A leaf from those trees.
4. Three cocoons from worms fed on the foliage of said trees, hatched August 1st, spun August 26th.



LAUNDRY AT ECONOMY.



COACH AND FIRE ENGINE OF HARMONY SOCIETY.

5. Three cocoons perforated by the moth, September 20th.
6. Some silk worm eggs produced by these moths.
7. Two skeins of raw silk, 2 skeins of colored silk and 4 yards of ribbon manufactured from those cocoons. We have about 9 acres of common and Canton Multicaulis trees, and about as many acres covered with the Italian and Brusa. We commenced the raising and manufacture of silk on a small scale in 1826, and increased it gradually as our trees, experience and knowledge increased. Of the amount of cocoons prior to 1838, we have no correct memorandum. The total for 6 years previous to this present is 20,766 pounds. Last year's product was 5,111 pounds. We have never bought nor sold any cocoons or raw silk, but have manufactured all we raised into a variety of silk fabrics.

Respectfully yours,

GERTRUDE RAPP."

June 15, 1845, she wrote in regard to gaining those prizes to Mr. J. R. Babour, Oxford, Mass.

"In both cities, therefore, our silks have met the approbation of the public. It is very gratifying to our friends, as well as to myself, to hear of so good a result, as you are well aware, that each one here pays strict attention to the duty allotted."

Everything was done to insure continued success. Fresh worms were imported from France.* Efforts were also made to obtain fresh supplies in this country. French and English mechanics were employed to instruct in the erection of machinery and the manufacture of silk. The Society joined in an effort to secure a tariff which would enable them to manufacture silk at a profit.

In 1846 an exhibit of their silk was sent to Washington, D. C., for exhibition to Congress in the hope of obtaining protective legislation. April 25, 1846, the following letter was written to Mr. John A. Ewing, a member of Congress:

"Dear Sir:

Agreeable to your request of the 12th inst., I put up one box, containing articles set forth in the annexed statement.—The silks are all made of the raw material raised here by ourselves. Our Society consuming the most of our silks, we have not been

* Henrici to M. Laforte, October 4, 1845.

able to wholesale them yet. The problem is now fully solved. We can produce the raw material and also the goods in this country, as well as any other country.—It is expensive to obtain at home and abroad the proper machinery to make with facility the variety of goods sent you. We have French and English workmen hired at high wages, by whom our people received instruction in erecting machinery and in manufacturing the silks. That manufacturers require the protection and care of a government is abundantly shown by the European system, and the same system has been fully and strongly recommended by our best statesmen since the formation of this government.

The two large shawls have been sent merely to show. We have made a lot of them for our own people, and would prefer to receive them back. Supposing that all kinds of domestic woollens will be sent from the East, I send only a few blankets, which will be found a good article.

Respectfully,

GEORGE RAPP."

The invoice of silk goods and woolen blankets sent for exhibition is:

15 yards figured ladies' dress silk, per yard,	\$1.25
1½ yards bird's eye vesting.....per yard,	\$1.25
3 yards blue figured satin vesting....per yard,	\$2.50
3 yards black figured satin vesting,. .per yard,	\$2.50
3 yards black figured satin vesting..per yard,	\$2.50
3 yards brown large fig. satin vesting, per yd.,	\$3.00
1½ yards extra figured velvet.....per yard,	\$5.00
3 yards brown figured velvet.....per yard,	\$5.00
3 white figured dress shawls.....a piece,	\$1.50
3 blue figured dress shawls,.....a piece,	\$1.50
6 white figured pocket handkerchiefs, a piece,	\$1.25
6 white plain pocket handkerchiefs, a piece,	\$1.12
6 black silk cravats,	\$1.50.
2 large, rich bordered shawls.	
9 pair 10-4 blankets, per pair,	\$7.50.

The Society was disappointed in its hope of developing the silk industry. Miss Rapp wrote September 25, 1847, to Mr. A. C. Von Epps:

"In reply to your kind favor of the 9th ult., I am sorry to have to state, that we have for many years devoted a great deal of time to give answers to a large number of letters on the subject of silk, but have effected very little. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion, to discontinue any correspondence on that point. We have always been, and still are, willing to give verbal instruction to practical silk growers and manufacturers."

From 1844 the silk industry at Economy seems to have declined. The amount of cocoons and raw silk produced from 1838 to 1845, was:

1838, 1,440 lbs. cocoons; 151 lbs. of raw silk.

1839, 1,855 lbs. cocoons; 168 lbs. of raw silk.

1840, 2,389 lbs. cocoons; 218 lbs. of raw silk.

1841, 4,435 lbs. cocoons; 340 lbs. of raw silk.

1842, 5,535 lbs. cocoons; 237 lbs. of raw silk.

1843, 5,111 lbs cocoons.

1844, 3,326 lbs. cocoons.

1845, 3,505 lbs. cocoons.

Between 1838 and 1842 the Society received from the State of Pennsylvania, \$3,688.00, as a bounty on silk produced by them.

The cocoonery was in operation in 1852, but silk growing was abandoned at Economy not long after that time.

Miss Gertrude Rapp, the Superintendent of the silk industry, was the granddaughter of George Rapp. She was born at Harmony, August 31, 1808, and died at Economy, December 27, 1889. Her whole life was lived in the Society. To have produced such a personality as hers would be a credit to any community. Her letter to Louisa Weil, quoted above, shows her to have been a refined, modest and most kindly woman, disclaiming all credit for good works and ready to love even those that had harmed her. The silk letters just quoted, show that she had a rare talent for business.

When young, she had been carefully educated. At the age of 15, she assisted her grandfather in writing his journal. The older men of the Society, when away from the house, liked to write to her, when she was still a child. The letter from Mr. Baker describing the launching of the steamboat, has been given.

A letter from Frederick Rapp to her, in 1830, when she was 22 years old, shows that she was already directing the silk industry.

„New York, Sonntag Abend, den 19. September 1830.

Gertrud!

Dieweil ich Zeit habe, so berichte ich dich, dass unsere Reise bis jetzt gut abgeloffen ist. Ich war immer gesund, und der Müller hat das Fahren besser ausgehalten als ich glaubte. Ich habe deine presents nun alle überliefert; sie sind gut aufgenommen worden, besonders von Mr. Graff's Töchtern und der Waldburg. Von allen habe Gegengeschenke für dich, Gestern habe Miss Greenfield ihres eingehändigt; sie war sehr froh darüber. Heute speisten wir mit ihnen zu Mittag; morgen gehen wir nach Long Island in Prinzes Garden um seine Weinstöcke zu sehen. Nach diesem werden wir uns noch ein paar Tage hier aufhalten, ein Piano für das Concert kaufen, und etwas Musik, und dann nach Haus zu, den Canal nach Erie hinaufgehen, welches ungefähr 7 Tage von hier nehmen wird. Es ist uns nichts besonders vorgekommen. In Philadelphia hatte ich vieles zu thun und hatte nicht Zeit Besuche zu machen. Der Waldburg ist es sehr leid, dass sie nicht mit uns vor 18 Monaten in der Economy ist, sie glaubt gewiss würde sie dort geblieben sein. Ich habe ihren Mann nicht gesehen, er ist in Litiz. Es hat sie geriehen, dass sie geheirathet hat. Keine gute Musik habe noch nicht gehört. Von Seiden werde ich viel gefragt. Sie hatten mich in Baltimore und Philadelphia in der Zeitung, dass ich eine heimgemachte Weste und Halstuch trage, und haben mich deshalb in den Strassen gestellt, um es zu sehen. Ich habe einen bessern Haspel, als der unsere, gefunden, auch habe in Philadelphia eine doubling und twisting machine bestellt. — In Philadelphia habe sechzehn Mädchen in einem Zimmer mit 8 Reels im Gang gesehen. Sie thun nicht mehr als die unsrigen; für das Pfund Cocoons bezahlen sie von 35 zu 40 cents. Letzten Dienstag und Mittwoch habe ich die Exhibition of the Franklin Institute gesehen. Es war zum bewundern wie viele schöne Sachen zu sehen waren; auch viele Seide; nächstes Jahr hoffe ich, wirst du das Premium für seidenen Westen-Stoff erhalten. — Ich habe Mr. Smith in Baltimore ein Pattern für eine Weste versprochen, welches ihn mehr freuen wird, als \$100. Ich hoffe es wird bei



IN THE PARK AT ECONOMY.



IN THE PARK AT ECONOMY.

euch alles gesund sein, und wird mich freuen euch so bald zu sehen.

Indessen grüsse dich,

FRIEDRICH RAPP."

Her education comprised English, French and German. She learned to make embroidery, and wax fruit and flowers, which appear to have been accomplishments of the time. Some fine specimens of her work in this latter field are still to be seen. But that in which she took the most delight was music, both vocal and instrumental. In this she shared a taste which was common to all the members of the Society. She had for a time as tutor and teacher of music, Mr. W. C. Peters, from whose instruction she profited greatly. Her friends, of whom she had many, frequently mention musical events in their letters to her, and think that no present will be so much appreciated by her, as a piece of music.

The following letter to Mary and Ann Graff, of Philadelphia, affords a glimpse of what made life in Economy agreeable, even to a young woman of culture:

"Economy, August 20, 1830.

Dear Mary and Ann:

Our Museum of Natural Curiosities, which is superintended by Christ. Müller, who accompanied my uncle to Philadelphia, is still increasing. Most all visitors to Economy go to see it, since establishments of this kind are very rare in the western country, and never found in towns the size of ours. Our band of music is also in an improving state, of which Mr. Müller is the leader, who can give you all the particulars of the subject.

My attention to silk worms, piano forte and family concerns has left me little time to apply to embroidery. My progress in this branch has been very limited indeed.

I should be very much rejoiced to see you in Economy. It is not convenient that I should accompany my uncle at this time.

Your friend,

GERTRUDE RAPP."

The reply from her friends mentions the attendance of Frederick Rapp and Mr. Müller at the French opera in Philadelphia.

“Philadelphia, Pa., September 14, 1830.

Dear Girl:

We received the presents you were so kind as to send us by your uncle. The box is beautiful. You deserve a great deal of credit for your patience as well as taste in the arrangement of it. We were quite astonished at the stockings, not having the slightest idea that silk could be manufactured in any way in this country.—We should have been glad had you been here to see the French opera. We went to see the “Maid and the Magpie” last week. The music composed by Rossini, the solos, duets, etc., handsomely sung. The plot of the piece is no great thing. The performers were generally stiff, and we, not understanding the French language so well, were not so much interested as if it had been English. We saw your uncle and Dr. Müller there. Ask them for further particulars. “Der Freischütz” will be performed next week. We saw it last winter, the music is so fine, we intend seeing it again.

Your uncle tells us you are going to the Falls of Niagara. That of all places we wish most to see. Do write and tell us all you see that interests you. We expect to go to Baltimore, Washington, etc., in October. Our cousins are to be of the party. We look forward to a great deal of pleasure.

Ann has sent you a pair of home-made fire-screens, a pocket handkerchief of the latest fashion, and some songs, all of which she hopes you will use for her sake. I send you a purse of my own manufacture, but your uncle tells me you have made such yourself. I am sorry it is not more novel, and some music which I think will please you.

Our family join with us in love to you, and wishing you a pleasant journey.

We remain, your friends,

MARY and ANN GRAFF.”

An earlier letter from the same friends, November 22, 1829, told of the admiration of Frederick Rapp for a new painting,

"The Holy Family," which their father had just received. A later letter from Mary Graff informs us that Frederick Rapp enjoyed the theatre also:

"Philadelphia, October 22, 1822.

Dear Gertrude:

I have selected, by your uncle's desire, some music for you. I hope my taste may agree with yours. They are from the newest operas. The music from the opera, "*La Muette de Portice*," is particularly admired, some of which you will find in the number. Rossini's music is highly spoken of. You have two or three pieces, and some of Auber's, which is most liked now in Paris. I hope the day may come when I may hear you play them.

Our city is quite lively. The theatres are full every night. Mr. Kemble and his daughter, Fannie, a most interesting young lady of eighteen, are now performing. We saw her last night and were delighted. She is so pretty, graceful, lively and modest, one cannot fail in being pleased. Your uncle and my papa have gone to see her this evening. I expect they will get a good squeezing before they secure a seat. The street before the theatre is crowded long before the doors are open, and it is almost impossible to gain a seat.

We hear the cholera is in Pittsburg. God grant your place may escape.—Your place I think will escape, as you are all so healthy, industrious and sober. It cannot stay in such a place, I am certain.

Gertrude, will you not write to me now and then? It will give me pleasure to hear from you.

I remain, yours affectionately,

MARY GRAFF."

Five years later, Mary Ann Hay Maddox, the daughter of the former agent of the Society at Vincennes, wrote to Miss Rapp:

"I find myself very often singing some of the airs you played on the piano, particularly one of Mozart's, which you know I admired very much."

Miss Rapp was possessed of personal beauty, as well as loveliness of character. Even in her old age her appearance attracted the attention of visitors. Charles Nordhoff, in 1874, found her "admirable." She was the dignified and courteous mistress of the "Great House" until her death. The people of the village still speak of her with the greatest respect and admiration.

Shortly after the Society had been firmly established at Economy, took place the secession under Count de Leon, which threatened the disruption of the Society. Mr. Williams* gives an account of this occurrence, from which the following is taken :

June 14, 1829, John George Goentgen wrote from Frankfort on the Main, to George Rapp, styling himself "Samuel, a fellow servant and consecrated servant of God, in the profane world now really subsisting, chief librarian of the free city of Frankfort, doctor of Philosophy and Theology." This letter proclaimed the Anointed of the Lord, Count de Leon, as the Minister of Christ, who was coming to the earth in the near future, to punish his enemies and reward his friends. In the meantime the Anointed of the Lord, Count de Leon, with his followers, would join the Harmonists, the especially chosen of the Lord, whose town was a type of the Kingdom of God, where the Lord would reveal himself, in order to prepare the constitution of his divine kingdom. The Count de Leon was really plain Bernhart Mueller, a religious enthusiast, who had collected a number of followers. But George Rapp believed that his community was the model of Christ's Kingdom, and he was convinced that he would soon see Christ walk the streets of Harmony in person, so he accepted the Count's statements without question and invited him to come to Economy. The next that was heard of Leon was in October, 1831, when a letter arrived stating that he had arrived in New York, with 40 persons, who desired to spend the winter at Economy. Mr. Rapp told him to come on, which he did at once. He was received with great formality in the church, but his appearance and manner were such that Mr. Rapp's sound judgment at once asserted itself. Leon made an

*The Harmony Society, p. 72.

address, expressing the belief that "this meeting is the most important event since the creation, and that henceforth all the troubles and sorrows of the Lord's people will cease." Father Rapp expressed his doubt as to this happy event and dismissed the meeting.

Some of Leon's followers put up at the hotel, and five houses were assigned for the others. They were, however, to pay their own expenses. (Leon is charged with supplies to the amount of \$894.72, from October 31 to December 31, 1831.) Conferences were held between the leaders of the two parties, at which it appeared that Leon advocated a better style of living, marriage, and other things which were not acceptable to the Harmonists. Union was out of question. But it was now winter, and Leon obtained permission to stay in the town until spring. During the winter the discontented members of the Society, attracted by his promises, allied themselves to him. A paper was drawn up and signed by those that adhered to Leon, numbering 250 men, women and children. A similar paper was signed by the adherents of the old organization, 500 in number. There was anarchy for a time. Finally, March 6, 1832, an agreement was made between the two parties, in accordance with which the adherents of Leon, members of the Society, were to leave Economy within three months; they were to relinquish all claims on the Society, taking with them only their clothing, furniture and personal effects; and were to receive \$105,000 and 60,000 francs, payable in three installments within a year. Of those who went with Leon, 176 had been members of the Society. Their withdrawal left 181 loyal members.*

The seceders went 10 miles down the river to Phillipsburg, now Monaca, and purchased 800 acres of land. They founded a communistic society, allowing marriage. They erected factories and hotels. Within a year their money was all gone. They decided to extort more money from the Harmonists. April 2, 1833, a mob of 80 persons went to Economy, took possession of the hotel, and laid their demand before the authorities. Their demands were refused. The members of the Society, following instructions, kept within their houses, but toward evening their

*Record I, p. 38.

American neighbors collected and drove away the invaders. The seceders, thus repulsed, soon learned that the Count was an imposter, and they forced him to leave their settlement also. They then divided their property and started anew, on the individual system.

It seems strange that the Harmonists, who at this time were managing their affairs with so much good judgment, should have been imposed upon by Leon. This person was probably acquainted with the „Gedanken über die Bestimmung des Menschen,“ in which they expressed their views and aspirations. Leon's correspondence reflected these same opinions, so that his promises seemed but the fulfillment of that for which they had been hoping and working. They were firmly convinced, too, that the coming of Christ and the beginning of the millenium was at hand, and they expected the Saviour to appear among them. They had accepted 1836 as the date of this event, the year fixed upon by Bengel and Jung-Stilling.*

With this conviction, they believed Leon when he asserted that he was a messenger to prepare for the Lord's coming.

The Society, while reduced in members by this secession, was probably strengthened morally, and its industrial efficiency seems not to have been impaired. Probably as one result of this incident, the Harmonists were afterwards adverse to proposals for union with other bodies. Hiram Rude, and some other Shakers, from New Lebanon, N. Y., visited Economy in 1856. They were well received, as visitors usually were. For the next two years, a correspondence was maintained between the Shakers and the Harmonists, Mr. Henrici conducting the correspondence for the latter, and Hiram Rude and Betsy Bates, chiefly, for the former. Shaker hymns and music were sent, the Shaker belief was explained. The Harmonists were urged to pay a visit to New Lebanon, and overtures for the union for the two bodies were made. But these overtures were declined, and

* Die Siegesgeschichte der christlichen Religion, von Jung-Stilling. Nürnberg, 1799, page 410: „Von nun (1798) an über 38 Jahre wird höchst vermutlich der Herr erscheinen — wie? und auf welche Art? — das wollen wir in Geduld abwarten, und dann wird sein herrliches Reich auf Erden anfangen; es kann aber auch noch eher geschehen, schwerlich später.“)

Mr. Henrici vigorously denounced some of the religious teachings of the Shakers, especially the revelations of their prophetess, Mother Ann, which he held to have been suggested by the tempter.

About the same time they corresponded with the community at Zoar, O., formed on much the same principles as their own, by Würtembergers also. But they believed that some of the Zoarite doctrines were not in accord with the Bible, and for that reason union was impossible. Such is the decision of Mr. Baker in the following letter :

„Economy, den 7. Dezember 1859.

Jacob Silvan,
Zoar.

Werther Freund :

Du verräthest zu viel Eigenliebe und Schwäche durch bemeldete Kränkung, denn es ist nicht Sünde, sondern Pflicht, einem Freunde einen Wink von einem Irrthum zu geben, wo solcher gegen das Wort Gottes geht. Wir finden in eurem Predigt-Buch manche Punkte, die nach unserm Wortverstand mit der Bibel nicht übereinstimmen. Es ist aber nicht unsere Sache in einen Religions-Streit uns einzulassen. Diese zwei Gesellschaften sind zweierlei Blumen und werden es auch für diese Zeit bleiben. Ein Jeder sei seiner Meinung gewiss, und seiner Ueberzeugung getreu.

Natürlich kann eine Freundschaft auf solchem Grunde nicht sehr tief sein, wo man sich hüten muss, dass die Eigenliebe nicht angegriffen wird. Doch genug davon.

R. L. BAKER.“

When George Rapp died in 1847, the direction of the Society was entrusted to two trustees, Romelius L. Baker and Jacob Henrici. The elder of these, whose name originally was Gottlieb Romelius Langenbacher, was born November 1, 1793. He had been in the Society from its foundation. His elder brother, John L. Baker, who died June 6, 1825, had, in the absence of Frederick Rapp, looked after the business interests of the Society. Romelius, too, early assisted in the management of the affairs, and on Frederick Rapp's death, in 1834, he and Mr. Henrici were appointed business agents of the Society. When

Father Rapp died, Mr. Baker, as senior trustee, succeeded him as spiritual leader and continued to preach the doctrines so long taught by the venerable founder. The management of business matters was also principally in his hands. In these he was most careful. His accounts and memoranda are most systematic. He knew at any time almost the exact condition of the Society's property. His influence was not limited to the Society, but his advice and co-operation were sought by his neighbors, in matters of common interest.

He, too, was a man of culture. He, like his brother, cultivated English more than most of the older members, and kept most of his accounts in that language. He trained himself carefully in the use of German also. In the library, at Economy, is a manuscript book of over 100 closely and neatly written pages, with the title: *Zweite Deutsche Abschrift der Geschichte Josephs, des Sohnes Israels, mit einigen Reimen, welche in der ersten Copia wegen des schwierigen Uebersetzens unterlassen, hier aber beigefügt sind.* Harmonie, May 17, 1820, Romelius L. Baker.

When in 1855 the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was founded, Mr. Baker became a member, and contributed \$20 to the publication fund. A tribute to his personal character, as well as a typical instance of the kindness of the Society to its outside friends, is contained in the following letter from the son of its former agent, at Vincennes, John D. Hay.

"Vincennes, April 22, 1863.

Mr. R. L. Baker,

Dear Sir:

I have always had feelings of kindness and gratitude to your Society, as the friends of my father and mother, giving them business and support for years. Toward yourself in particular, I have always had not only profound esteem, but affection. How could it be otherwise? Your intimate friendship to my parents, your frequent visits to our home, your peculiar tenderness to us children, your amusing anecdotes, pleasant songs and good instruction and advice, made indelible impressions upon me.—I have stayed away purposely (from Economy) lest you should misjudge my motives in coming. You frequently

gave me tokens of friendship in my youth, and your Society gave my sister and myself a lot. When I visited you, you and Mr. Rapp, and others perhaps, gave me sundry little tokens, and would not let me pay my tavern bill. I believe I never asked you for a gift.—If I ever call, let me pay my tavern bill and give me no gifts.

Yours truly,

GEORGE D. HAY."

Mr. Baker's kind treatment of the sick Moravian missionary has been narrated elsewhere.

He was a sincerely pious man. Occasionally in his account books a verse of scripture is written in his clear, bold hand. His business letters to Mr. Henrici frequently end with something of spiritual interest; an allusion to his sermon of the previous Sabbath, or a religious admonition, as in the following conclusion of a business letter:

„Economy, 21. Mai 1859.

Jacob:

— Du bist jetzt vieler Zerstreung unterworfen, mehr als uns lieb ist, allein bei dem äussern Naturlicht, ist auch das innere, um eine Geburth tiefer zu finden, welches das geistliche Leben nährt, und das Opferfeuer unterhält.

Der gemeinschaftliche Geist sei dein Führer, dann wird alles gut sein bis unser Wiedersehen.

Viele herzliche Grüsse,

R. L. BAKER."

Religious matters were his chief concern. The welfare of the Society in which he had lived from his boyhood, was his last thought when he felt death approaching. A short time before his death he requested that the following points should be added to the farewell address of Father Rapp:

- 1st. An exhortation to holy living.
- 2d. To Christian union and Harmony.

Mr. Baker's death was announced in the following circular, in German and English:

„Entschlafen im Herrn!

Am Morgen des 11. Januar 1868, starb in seinem 75. Lebensjahre, Bruder Romelius L. Baker, im vollen Vertrauen auf das allgenugsame Verdienst seines theuren Heilandes Jesu Christi, welchem er von früher Jugend auf mit voller und unverrückter Liebe von ganzem Herzen anhing und dem er in der Person seiner Brüder, seit Gründung der Harmonie-Gesellschaft in 1805 mit unbefleckter Treue bis in den Tod eifrig diente. Seit dem Hinscheiden Georg Rapp's, des vielgeliebten Gründers der Harmonie-Gesellschaft, war er vorsitzender Aelteste, Haupt-Trustee und religiöser Leiter und Wortführer der Gemeinde. Ihm folgt jetzt der seit 1832 in ähnlichen Aemtern ihm beigefügte, und unter seiner Leitung die Geschäfte der Gesellschaft erlernende zehn Jahr jüngere Bruder Jacob Henrici. Als dessen Mit-Trustee wurde heute erwählt, der in der Gesellschaft 1807 geborne, von ihr erzogene, ihr stets mit voller Treue dienende und seit 1847 als Rathsglied erprobte Bruder, Johnathan Lenz.

Die allgemeinen Geschäfte der Harmonie-Gesellschaft werden daher von heute an im Namen von Henrici und Lenz, Trustees, gethan, und alle Kaufbriefe (Deeds) und ähnliche Documente von Jacob Henrici und Jonathan Lenz, Trustees, ausgefertigt und unterzeichnet werden, zufolge der bestehenden in Beaver County Court eingetragenen Vereinigungs-Artikel besagter Gesellschaft.

Economy, Januar 13, 1868.

JACOB HENRICI,
JOHNATHAN LENZ,
Trustees.“

Some time later, Mr. Henrici, writing to Louise Weil, paid his tribute to his departed friend of a life time:

„Es ist nicht unsere Weise, wie du wohl weisst, einander Lobreden zu halten, doch zur Bestätigung und Rechtfertigung dessen was du und der liebe Vater zum Lobe des scheidenden Freundes uns zum süßen Troste, mit so viel Herzensbereitsamkeit zu sagen hattest, will auch ich meine auf vieljährige Erfahrung gegründete Ansicht über diesen Gegenstand euch aufrichtig mittheilen.

„Ich weiss, dass du es mir nicht übel deutest, wenn ich in dem, was ich zu sagen habe, blosslasse, dass ich eine sehr hohe Ansicht von dem Werthe und der endlichen Bestimmung unsrer harmonischen Gemeine habe, die, obgleich jetzt in verborgener Gestalt und mit manchen menschlichen Unvollkommenheiten belastet, dennoch für einen grossen geheimen Zweck unmittelbar vom Herrn gegründet und bis auf den heutigen Tag gnädig und wunderbar beschützt und geleitet wurde. Ich sage dieses, dass ihr nicht zu fürchten habt, dass ihr euch in dem Werthe unseres Freundes überschätzt habt, der zwar durchaus nichts vom eigenen Werth und Verdienst, sondern alles Glück und Heil einzig und allein von der Gerechtigkeit und dem Verdienste seines theuren Heilands erwartete, der uns hoch geliebt hat, dem er aber nach seiner gnädigen Berufung und Erwählung zur billigen Gegenliebe in reinem Gewissen von Jugend auf, ja, wie Paulus, von seinen Voreltern her, gedient, der nun schon über ein halbes Jahrhundert als ein talentvoller, gebildeter und wohl geübter Geschäftsmann fast alle bedeutende Geschäfte der Gesellschaft mit der Aussen-Welt leiten half oder selbst besorgte, ohne sich auch nur die geringste Untreue zu Schulden kommen zu lassen; und dessen moralisches und religiöses Beispiel von Jugend auf von grossem und gutem Einfluss war, und der seit dem Tode des Gründers der Gemeine auch im Religiösen die Oberleitung der Gemeine mit aller Sorgfalt und Treue aufs eifrigste verwaltete. Kein jetzt lebender kann dies mit grösserer Gewissenheit bezeugen und behaupten als ich, der ich schon über vierzig Jahre beständigen Umgang mit ihm gepflegt, schon über 34 Jahre ununterbrochene Geschäfte unter und mit ihm für die Gesellschaft gethan, von dem Tode Frederick Rapp's in 1834 bis heute in gleichem Amte mit ihm gestanden, wo er durch ein um 10 Jahre höheres Alter, durch reifere Erfahrung und vorzüglichere natürliche Fähigkeit mir, so zu sagen, immer als Lehrer und Muster diente.“

CHAPTER VI.

Economy, Pennsylvania, 1868-1904.

The year 1868, in which Mr. Baker died, marks an epoch in the development of the Society. Up to that time their industries had been carried on for the most part at Economy, by themselves, with the assistance of hired labor. But the members of the Society grew fewer and fewer in number, and could no longer profitably carry on their home industries. The manufacture of silk ceased soon after 1852; the cotton factory had closed in 1858, and after that date only a small quantity of woollen goods was manufactured. In 1862 a United States revenue tax was placed on whiskey. From that date the production of this profitable article rapidly diminished and soon ceased entirely. Wine was still made on a small scale until 1890.

At the very time that a large capital was released by the cessation of these home manufactures, it was increased greatly from an unexpected source. Shortly before 1860, the Society had come into possession of 6,000 acres of timber land in Warren County, Pa., near Tidioute, by purchasing at Sheriff's sale the property of a man to whom they had loaned money. Oil was discovered in 1860 in that vicinity. In 1861 the Society drilled several wells on their property, and found a rich supply of oil. This oil they refined with such care that for a time the best oil in the market was Economy oil. Mr. Lenz, the junior trustee, took personal charge of the oil industry. It was carried on by the Society from 1861 until 1892, part of the time on a large scale and with great profit.

Before the discovery of oil on the Warren County property, they had been exploiting the timber on it. In 1858, and succeeding years, they had a large saw mill in operation there. The timber was taken down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and



View of Part of Economy from the Church Tower.



Typical House at Economy.

disposed of at various points in these valleys. This industry continued until the supply of timber was exhausted.

Since 1855 the Society had been engaged in the coal business at Cannellton and Darlington, Beaver County, Pa. In 1859 they purchased property there, owning as much as 944 acres. They shipped their coal mostly west. Some went to Cleveland, some to New York. This business continued until 1880. They sold out their interests there in 1882 or 1883. In connection with the coal works, at Darlington, they had a saw mill and car works, where they made cars for the transportation of their coal. As far back as 1852 they had come into possession of coal lands in Jefferson County, O., by mortgage foreclosure. At Cannellton they had manufactured coal oil from shale. This was unprofitable after the discovery of petroleum, and was abandoned in 1861.

The Society was the chief factor in a number of railroad enterprises. In 1857 they had a large amount of stock in the Little Saw Mill Run R. R., in Allegheny County, Pa., and took an active part in the management of this road. They sold their interest in it in 1895. They were the chief agents in the construction of the Pittsburg, Chartiers and Youghioghenny R. R. They owned a controlling interest in this road, to the amount of \$390,000, which they sold in 1891 or 1892.

Their most important railroad enterprise was the building of the Pittsburg & Lake Erie R. R., from Pittsburg, Pa., to Youngstown, Ohio. They became interested in the construction of this road in 1877, and invested \$650,000 in it. Mr. Henrici was President of the road from January 12, 1881, to January 14, 1884. At this date the road passed into the hands of the Vanderbilts, to whom the Harmony Society sold its interests for \$1,150,000.

In 1859 the Society became the owners of 500 or more acres of land on the Beaver river, 30 miles from Pittsburg. They purchased the Fulton farm of 200 acres adjoining their land, and somewhat later the Braden farm, of about 200 acres. This land constitutes the present site of Beaver Falls. It was the same the Rapps had urged the Duke of Saxe-Weimar to buy 33 years before. In 1859 not more than 40 or 50 persons lived on this

tract. Now Beaver Falls has a population of about 11,000. The Harmonists saw the advantages of this location as a site for a manufacturing town. They determined to induce factories to build there. In 1865 their property was divided into lots, the first of which was sold January 1, 1866. The sales were continued until quite recently, when all their Beaver Falls property was disposed of. Between 1865 and 1896 they realized from these sales, \$1,110,648.78.

They succeeded in having a number of factories located in the new town. In 1867 they acquired an interest in a cutlery works, then operating at Rochester, Pa. In 1868 these works were located at Beaver Falls, and operated by the Beaver Falls Cutlery Co., in which the Society had a large share. In 1872 they became sole owners. As many as 300 men were employed in the factory. They operated the works until 1887 at a great loss. When remonstrated with, the manager, Mr. Henrici, said "They must run; these men must be employed; we have sold them lots and built them houses, and we have got to keep these factories running to keep these men employed." This property was sold in 1895.

In 1875 they acquired an interest in the Western File Works, at Beaver Falls, a very large factory. They bought this plant entirely in 1884, and operated it, also at a great loss, until 1892. This, as in fact all their property at Beaver Falls, has since been sold.

In 1875 they acquired an interest in the shovel factory of H. M. Meyers & Co., which interest they disposed of in 1889. They were for a time owners of a large axe factory at Beaver Falls, which they also sold. In 1877 they became owners of the Beaver Falls Steel Works, which they operated until 1893, when they sold them. They owned and operated for a time a pottery in Beaver Falls.

In 1879 they organized the Beaver Falls Car Works, taking \$47,000 stock out of a total investment of \$50,000. These works were operated until 1886, when they were burnt down.

They also had for a time large interests in the Valley Glass Works, the Beaver Falls Coal Works, the Union Drawn Steel Works, and the Eclipse Bicycle Co., all at Beaver Falls.

It had not been their original intention to engage in these manufactures. Their purpose had been to dispose of their land to good advantage. To induce these various establishments to locate on their land, they had taken stock in them or loaned money to their owners. Later they found it necessary, in order to secure these loans and investments, to purchase the plants outright.

A part of the scheme for the development of Beaver Falls had been a bank. Accordingly, on March 2, 1868, the Society organized the Economy Savings Institution. This bank enjoyed great confidence, as the credit of the Society was the best. It had at one time over 3,000 depositors, and more than \$1,000,000 deposits. As a banking institution, it was successful. But the File Works and Cutlery Works were being operated at a loss. In order to keep these factories running, the bank's money was loaned to them. In 1892 they were more than \$900,000 in debt to the bank. These and other financial difficulties of the Society led to the closing of the bank in 1893, after all its obligations had been met in full.

In addition to these industries, the Society became interested in 1880, in the Chartiers Block Coal Co. In 1887 they began to make bricks in Leet Township. From 1887 to 1889 they operated a glass factory, which they had bought at Sheriff's sale, in order to secure money loaned. These industries away from Economy were operated by workmen and Superintendents who were not members of the Society, under the general direction of the two trustees. Mr. Lenz, the junior trustee, gave most of his attention to the lumber and oil industries, while Mr. Henrici directed the enterprises at Beaver Falls. At the same time at Economy, agriculture was still carried on, together with the local industries necessary for the life of the town.

In 1895 the Society still operated a flour mill, a cooper shop, a machine shop, a plumbing shop, a carpenter shop, a cabinet shop, a butcher shop, a laundry, a bakery, a dairy, orchards and farming, employing 79 men, including one policeman, two teachers and one clerk. In that year they had 400 acres under cultivation, raising corn, wheat, oats and potatoes; 200 acres in hay and pasture; 80 cows, 35 heifers, 21 horses and 60 to 70 pigs.

During Mr. Baker's life-time he had kept careful accounts of the Society's business. It was unfortunate that, after his death, just when the industries of the Society were becoming so large and various, systematic accounting was abandoned. Mr. Henrici kept no accounts. He merely made very unsystematic memoranda of transactions, and relied a great deal on his memory. No person else could know, and probably Mr. Henrici himself did not fully realize, what the financial condition of the Society was. When Mr. John S. Duss became junior trustee, in 1890, he soon learned that the finances were in bad shape, just how bad he could not determine. After overcoming to some extent Mr. Henrici's aversion to accounts, he secured the services of an expert accountant, who, after much work, found out what the financial condition of the Society was on April 1, 1891. At that date its liabilities were \$1,474,958.58, with assets, not including the property at Economy and in Leet Township, of \$1,707,952.31. It was solvent, but many of its liabilities had to be met at once, while few of its assets were immediately available. If their creditors had pressed for immediate payment, they would have had to dispose of their assets at a sacrifice, and would have been absolutely bankrupt.

By skillful financiering, in great part during a financial panic, rendered all the more difficult by internal dissensions and litigation, brought by descendants of former members, Mr. Duss succeeded in meeting all obligations and putting the Society on a firm financial basis. The entire debt, January 1, 1896, was \$359,812.00, and the assets, not including real estate at Economy and in Michigan, were \$570,397.00. The Economy property was assessed at \$500,000.*

The most valuable asset of the Society was the estate at Economy, and this Mr. Duss preserved intact. His wisdom in so doing was shown by the favorable terms on which this property was disposed of a few years later. In 1902 a considerable tract, on which the town of Ambridge is now situated, was sold.

*This information, in regard to the industries of the Society, and its financial condition, has been obtained from the printed testimony in the case of Christian Schwartz et al. vs. John S. Duss et al. Bill filed June 27, 1894.

April 29, 1903, almost the whole Economy estate was sold to the Liberty Land Company. The Society retained only three blocks of 2.75 acres each, on which are situated the Music Hall, the Great House and garden, and several dwellings, together with the right to use the church for five years, which right could be extended five years longer if desired. The extent of the land sold to the Liberty Land Company was 2,523 acres, and the amount paid for it was \$2,500.000.00.

Jacob Henrici, who had been junior trustee since the death of George Rapp, succeeded R. L. Baker as senior trustee and spiritual leader of the Society. Mr. Henrici was born January 15, 1804, of Protestant parents, at Grosskarlbach, in Rhenish Bavaria. After attending the elementary schools, he took a two years' course in the Lehrerseminar at Kaiserslautern, finishing the course in 1822. He obtained a certificate of highest credit, being commended as especially competent to teach, very good in singing and well qualified in the playing of the organ. His exemption from military service of about the same date, describes him as five feet, eleven inches tall, blonde hair, high forehead, brown eyebrows, brown eyes, medium sized nose and mouth, blonde beard, pointed chin, normal complexion and strongly built. November 1, 1822 he was appointed assistant in the elementary Protestant School for Boys, in Speier, with a yearly salary of 200 Gulden and free dwelling. He taught there for two years. On leaving this school, the 23d of September, 1824, to come to America, with his parents, the principal of the school, Herr Jaeger, certified in the highest terms to his efficiency and character:

„Er hat sich jederzeit als einen jungen Mann von vorzüglichen Anlagen, ausgezeichnetem Fleisse und einem musterhaften Betragen erwiesen. Mit einer seltenen Gabe von Lehrfähigkeit verband er zugleich ein reines, stilles und für jedes Edle und Schöne empfängliches Gemüth, wodurch er sich seinen Zöglingen nicht nur theuer und werth gemacht, sondern sich auch die Hochachtung und innere Zuneigung und Theilnahme seiner Mitlehrer, seiner Vorgesetzten und der sämmtlichen Orts- und Landesoberigkeiten erworben hat. Da er seinen Eltern nach Amerika zu folgen sich entschlossen hat, so tröstet uns über einen so

grossen Verlust, den dadurch unsere Elementarschule erleidet, die einzige Hoffnung und Zuversicht, dass der ewige Lenker der menschlichen Schicksale dieses Opfer der kindlichen Treue segnen, und der wackere junge Mann jenseits des Meeres ein neues Vaterland und Menschen finden werde, welche ihn mit der nämlichen Liebe aufnehmen mit welcher wir ihn aus unserer Mitte entlassen.

Der königlich-baierische Studiendirektor,
JAEGER."

The director of the normal school, Mr. Balbier, gave him a certificate in similar high terms, speaking of "his childlike, pure, and pious disposition, his talent and his ability to impart instruction." On the same date his fellow teachers united in a warm testimonial of regard for him:

„Lieber Henrici:

Mit dem innigsten Gefühle unsers Herzens ergreifen wir im Augenblicke unsers Scheidens die Feder, dir, du theurer unseres Herzens, das letzte Lebewohl zuzuschreiben. Mit welcher Theilnahme, mit welcher Treue, sind unsere Herzen gegen dich angefüllt! Der Augenblick, in welchem wir uns zum letzten Mal umarmen, macht unsere Herzen beklommen; indem der Gedanke dich, du theurer Henrici, den wir alle so treu liebten, nicht mehr zu sehen, in uns entsteht.

O Schicksale der Menschen, wie trennst du hier so manches Band der Freundschaft! — doch wir wollen darüber nicht klagen, denn Er, der unsere Herzen in Liebe verband, und uns nun wieder scheiden heisst; Er, der durch die Stimme deines Geistes zu dir sprach; Ziehe,— Er wird auch jenseits des Oceans mit und bei dir sein, und dich und die deinigen glücklich an den Ort deiner Bestimmung begleiten. —

So lebe wohl, auf ewig wohl! Und gedenke oft deiner dich herzlich liebenden Freunde! Adieu!

Neuhofen bei Speier,

den 23. September 1824."

Mr. Henrici had heard of the Harmony Society in America. In later years he related how he had prayed to God to know whether he should come to America to connect himself with it,

and had obtained an affirmative answer. After he had made his preparations for the journey, his friends persuaded him to reconsider his purpose. He prayed again, and he was convinced of his duty a second time. On his arrival in America, he first provided a home for his aged parents, and visited Economy, and was so impressed with the life and spirit there that he pledged himself to Father Rapp to join the community and then returned to provide for his parents before executing his long cherished purpose. He concluded his story by saying that he had never since doubted that it was possible to get a definite answer to prayer.* His parents never became reconciled to his joining the Society. At his father's death a few years later he bequeathed his son \$600, on condition that he would leave the Society within two years.

Mr. Henrici joined the Society July 1, 1826. He was the school teacher, and we cannot doubt that he was a most efficient one. Besides his knowledge of German, he had an almost perfect command of the French language, and he soon acquired the mastery of the English, as his letters show. Father Rapp became much attached to the young teacher, and soon showed him many marks of his approval. In fact the favor which was given the young man, aroused the envy of some of the older members of the Society. He soon began to take an active part in the management of affairs, and on the death of Frederick Rapp 1834, he and Mr. Baker were appointed business agents of the Society. On the death of George Rapp 1847, Mr. Baker and he became the trustees. After Mr. Baker's death, 1868, Mr. Henrici became senior trustee, and practically the absolute ruler of the Society to almost the same extent as its founder, George Rapp, had been. He believed as firmly as Mr. Rapp himself in the high destiny of the Society, and in the part it was to play in the establishment of Christ's kingdom upon earth. His ear was always open to appeals for aid, and he gave substantial assistance to many institutions for charity and education, and to many individuals, whom he considered deserving. His strong belief in the second coming of Christ led him to contribute to movements which claimed to prepare for that event. Cyrus Teed applied to Mr. Henrici for aid in his plans, and received some money. Mr. Hen-

*Hind's *Communities in America*.

rici spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that while he was mistaken in some of his views, he believed him to be an honest man.* His loan of \$10,000 to the Templeverein in Jerusalem, in 1890, when the Society was financially embarrassed, has been already mentioned. While Mr. Henrici had no doubt great business talents, he had also some peculiarities which rendered his management of the Society's interest dangerous. He was adverse to keeping systematic accounts, and he was careless in preserving the documents of the Society. "Such documents as the Society did possess, were not filed away in any one place, but were poked away in all kinds of places. Some in the safe or other places at the store, some in the vault at the 'Big House,' some in Mr. Henrici's desk, bureau drawers, chests and in fact throughout various trunks and boxes, from garret to cellar throughout the house; some at places in Pittsburg, some at Tidioute, and at various other places where the Society owned property."**

Even while Mr. Henrici was the head of the Society and director of its vast interests, he never forgot that he was a school teacher, and in his busiest years would teach school in the evenings in the village. He regarded teaching as the noblest of professions, as he wrote to Louise Weil:

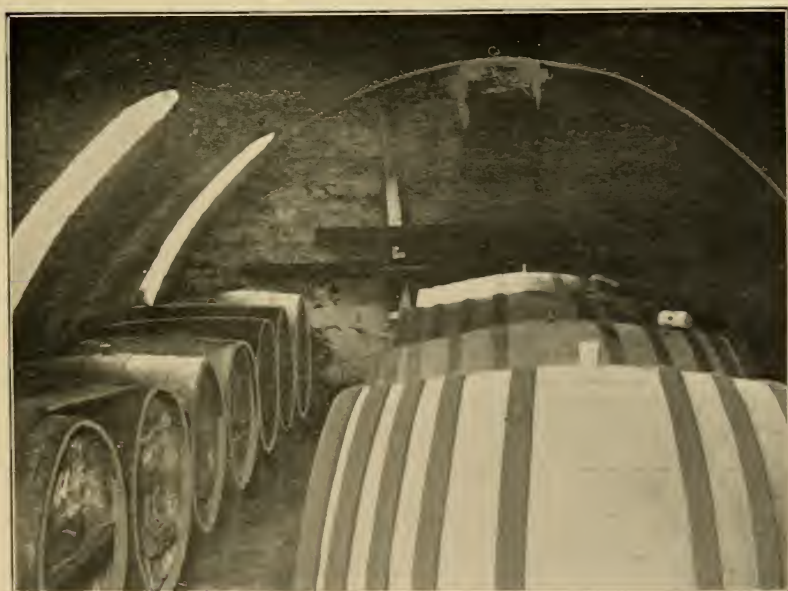
„Fast alles, was diese Welt hat, ist vergänglich, und daher von geringem Werthe; was man aber zur Bildung und Veredlung der Menschheit beigetragen, ist von ewiger Dauer und Wichtigkeit. Eine solche Freischule, wie du die deinige schilderst, ist der schönste Wirkungskreis den ich mir denken kann, und nirgends könntest du zur Aufnahme edlen Samens ein tauglicheres Feld finden, als eben eine solche Anstalt. Mache daher fröhlich und getrost deine gute Aussaat, pflanze, begiesse sie nach allen deinen Kräften und Gott wird das Gedeihen dazugeben. Betrübe dich nicht, wenn du nicht nach deiner Mühe und deinem Verdienst in dieser Welt belohnt wirst. Jeder gute Same, den du aus treuer uneigennütziger Liebe in jungen Menschenherzen streuest, wird dir im Lande der Unvergänglichkeit eine erfreuliche Ernte bringen.“

*Testimony of Judge Hice.

**Testimony of John S. Duss.



WINE VAULTS AT ECONOMY.



INTERIOR OF WINE VAULT AT ECONOMY.

Throughout his life he preserved those characteristics of purity of mind and uprightness of character and heart which were valued by his colleagues and superiors in Germany. He died Christmas Day, 1892.

Mr. Henrici's musical talent was noted in his teacher's certificate. Throughout his long life he cultivated this talent. He wrote many hymns and set them to music. His composition of the Ten Commandments and of the Apostles' Creed has been published. Music composed by him is extant in manuscript.

The trustee, who extricated the affairs of the Society from the confusion into which Mr. Henrici had brought them, was Mr. John S. Duss. He was born in Cincinnati, February 22, 1860. His father, who was a soldier in the Union Army, died of a wound received at the battle of Gettysburg, and the widow went with her infant son to Economy, where she made her home. From 1873 to 1876 Mr. Duss attended the Soldiers' Orphans' School, at Phillipsburg, Pa. He left the school and returned to Economy, where he entered the service of the Harmony Society. In 1876 he and his mother went to Germany for a few months, but returned again to Economy. In the fall of 1878 he was appointed by the Society as teacher of the German department of the public school at Economy, and remained there until 1879, when he left to attend Mt. Union College, in Ohio. In 1882 he went to Kansas as a teacher in the Kansas State Reform School, at Topeka. In the same year he married Miss Susie Creese. In 1883 he purchased a farm in Webster County, Neb., and engaged there in the business of farming and breeding of fine stock until the year 1888, when, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Henrici, he sold his personal property and returned to Economy to take charge of the public school conducted by the Harmony Society. His mother, who had been continually at Economy, except for short periods, from 1862 to 1892, had in the meantime joined the Society in 1887. After the death of Miss Gertrude Rapp in 1889, Mrs. Duss was chosen by the trustees as mistress of the great house. Mr. Henrici was desirous of securing the services of Mr. Duss to the Society permanently, and urged him to join, which he did in January, 1890, and at the same time was elected a member of the Board of Elders. On the death of Earnest Woelfel, the junior trustee,

July 26, 1890, Mr. Duss was elected junior trustee in the place of Woelfel, and upon the death of Mr. Henrici, he became senior trustee.

Mr. Duss found the Society burdened with a load of debt for which he was not responsible. He devoted himself to the task of rescuing the Society from its perilous position, and he succeeded. He discharged all the obligations of the Society, at the same time retaining the real estate at Economy, which was increasing rapidly in value. February 13, 1897, he became sole trustee. May 12, 1903, he resigned and withdrew from the Society. The same day his wife, Mrs. Susie C. Duss, was elected sole trustee, and has since managed the affairs of the Society.

Mr. and Mrs. Duss sustain the traditions of high artistic and intellectual culture, which had been maintained by the leaders of the Society from its foundation. Mr. Duss, like so many of his predecessors, had great musical talent. He found a field for this talent as leader of the Economy Band. As a conductor, he displayed so great ability that in 1902 he organized a band, with which he played throughout the entire summer in New York, and gained the attention and won the approval of lovers of music in the metropolis. The orchestra directed by him at Madison Square Garden, was the chief musical attraction in New York City during the summer of 1903.

CHAPTER VII.

The Home of the Society.—Publications.—Language.—Bibliography.

In each of their three American homes, the Harmonists had erected buildings, which will serve as their monuments for an indefinite period. The brick church, hotel, wine vaults and dwellings at Harmony, Butler County, Pa., were so substantially built, that they have suffered no decay in the hundred years since their erection.

Their village at Harmony, Ind., was beautiful and substantial. Robert Dale Owen, the son of the man who bought their Indiana property, thus described it: "Their village was picturesque enough, literally embowered in trees, rows of black locust marking the street lines. Several large buildings stood out above the foliage, of which a spacious cruciform brick hall—the transept 130 feet across—was the chief. The private dwellings were small, each in a separate garden spot. Adjoining the village on the south were extensive apple and peach orchards."

Half a century after the Harmonists had left their home on the Wabash, they purchased this cruciform structure, which they had used as a hall and assembly room in the old days. They demolished the principal part of it, and used the brick for a wall to enclose their old burial ground, twenty rods square. One wing of the cross was allowed to stand, and constitutes nearly one-half of the institute building, 125x45 feet, containing a large public library, Masonic Hall and five large well furnished school rooms. The village made some contribution, but the present really fine building is due mainly to the Rappists. They intended it as a memorial building, and from its facade stand out the words: "In memory of the Harmony Society, founded by George Rapp, 1805."

One condition of the donation, insisted upon by the Society, was that the old stone door which had been designed and executed by Frederick Rapp, should take its place unaltered, in the remodeled building.*

Their third town, Economy, Pa., has one of the most beautiful locations in the Ohio Valley. The village is built on a level terrace, overlooking the river, with an elevation of about 100 feet. Back of the village rise bold hills at a distance, forming a most effective background. The streets, 60 feet wide, run at right angles and parallel with the river. The sidewalks are paved with brick. The intersecting streets form squares of about two and one-half acres each. At the corners of these and midway on the sides, are erected the dwellings, in such a manner that each has an ample garden adjoining. The houses are brick or frame structures. Most of the houses are built on the same plan. They are two-story structures, with three rooms on each floor. The dimensions of the typical house are: Outside, 24 feet 2 inches by 32 feet 3 inches; on the ground floor there is a large room 19 feet 6 inches by 22 ft., and two smaller ones, one 10 feet 6 inches by 11 feet, the other 11 by 11 feet. All brick walls are 13 inches thick. The outside walls of frame houses are filled in with straw mortar. To most of the houses annexes have been built, which are in most cases frame, even if the house is brick. To the brick house, of which the dimensions have just been given, there is a frame annex 11 ft. 6 inches by 32 ft., divided into two rooms on the ground floor, one 11 by 26 feet, the other 5 by 11 feet. The large rooms contained open fire places. The houses are built flush with the street. There is only one entrance, and that is not from the street, but from the side yard. At this entrance there is a neat porch. The houses have plenty of windows, which open on all sides.

Half way up the walls of the houses espaliers are attached, to which grape vines are trained. There are about 115 dwelling houses in the village. The "Great House," the home of the senior trustee, is larger and more imposing than the other dwellings. Besides these dwellings, there are a number of larger buildings. The church, the hotel, the grist mill, the woolen fac-

*Hinds, *American Communities*, p. 81.



IN THE PARK AT ECONOMY.



ROOM IN THE GREAT HOUSE AT ECONOMY.

tory, the cotton factory, are very large and substantial structures. They were the first permanent buildings erected, having been built in 1825.

In the rear of the "Great House" is the park, a very beautiful pleasure ground, of about three acres, containing well kept flower beds, a pond, a band stand, a grotto in the form of a Grecian temple, which was designed by Frederick Rapp, as a memorial to George Rapp. Opposite the "Great House" is the large brick Assembly Hall, beneath which are the wine cellars. On the outskirts of the village are large barns. Even in the early days the village was well supplied with water, conducted from a reservoir on the hill to various points. Water is also pumped by steam from deep wells. Some years ago natural gas was discovered on their property, which is used for light and fuel. In early days the Society had erected a large steam laundry, for the use of the community, which is still in use. There is also a bakery still in operation, where the baking of the community was done. Even to-day Economy is a model village. At the time it was built, it must have been strikingly superior to the average western town. It is a monument to the good taste and good judgment of its founders.

The Harmonists led a regular life. It was their custom to rise at six, to eat light breakfast between six and seven, to have a lunch at nine, dinner at twelve and afternoon lunch at three, and supper between six and seven. They went to bed at nine o'clock. During their first years in America, they worked hard and lived on plain and sometimes scanty fare, but after they had become established, though always industrious, they did not work so hard and lived better than the neighboring American farmers. They were by no means ascetics. They ate meat and drank wine and beer if they chose. A memorandum of Mr. Baker gives the amount of meat consumed in 1863. There were at that time 234 persons in the community. During that year they consumed 33 steers, 200 sheep, 33 calves and 65 hogs; an average of 125 pounds of beef and 40 pounds of pork and bacon to a person.

A weekly allowance of wine, and cider or beer was distributed to the members; but whiskey was not given out, except in cases of sickness or exposure. Coffee, sugar and tea were dis-

tributed to the members at the Society's store—a certain quantity for each person—every two months; all other groceries at such times as they were called for, and in such quantities as the members said they needed; clothing, hats and shoes in the same manner, and from the same place; flour and chicken feed they got from the grist mill as they wanted them; meat, viz., beef, veal and pork twice a week from the butcher—who slaughtered twice a week, and gave them about two pounds of meat for each person, and more if they wanted it; bread from the bakery, where they baked every day as much as they wanted; milk was delivered twice a day at their homes, a pint morning and evening for each person; wine, cider or beer from the cellar, a gallon a week for each person in summer, and half that quantity in winter.

Vegetables and chickens they raised for themselves, in the yards and gardens attached to their homes. Carpets and furniture for their houses were furnished them upon request made at the store or general office. In case of sickness, they were attended, in early years by their own physician, in later years by a physician employed by the Society. Domestic servants and nurses were furnished those who, from age, weakness or sickness needed their assistance. In the distribution of these supplies, the families of the members formed a part of the number to be provided for, and there was no discrimination between members and their families as to quantity or quality; they were treated alike.*

The Harmonists retained the Swabian peasant style of dress adapting it somewhat to American conditions. On the Wabash they wore buckskin, like other frontiersmen. After their factories were in operation, they manufactured all the articles of wearing apparel they used, and their clothes were made by their own tailors. Both men and women usually wore garments of a dark blue color, made in a simple fashion. They were well dressed. Their clothes were always clean and never ragged. After they had begun the manufacture of silk, the women wore dresses of that material on festive occasions. Their manufacture of all kinds of cloth ceased in the sixties. When the stock of goods they had on hand was exhausted, their number had so decreased

*Testimony, Schwartz vs. Duss.



WOOD WORKING TOOLS MADE BY THE SOCIETY.



TOOLS MADE BY THE SOCIETY.

that it was cheaper to buy their clothing than to make it themselves, and thus their dress became the same as that of other people.

In early years, at Economy, boarders were frequently admitted to the tavern during the summer. But in 1880 and for some years previous to that, this practice had been discontinued, and no one was allowed to board at the hotel except by Father Henrici's special permission, which was rarely granted. In 1880 the village of Economy still retained nearly all of its characteristics. There was a large force of men at work on the farm; they had not yet branched out into the manufacture of lumber and operation of the planing mill; they had not yet discovered natural gas or oil there, and the village was in its primitive state, Father Henrici still in his vigor, and his influence prevailing the whole community; the hotel locked up at nine o'clock at night; all went off the street except the watchman and his dog. Shortly after that, about 1882, they discovered oil and gas; that was the signal for an influx for a large number of men who boarded at the hotel, who were engaged in laying pipes, drilling, etc. After nine o'clock at night, it was not so quiet as it had been before. The young people were more in evidence on the street. These men who were employed were not regular about going to bed at nine o'clock, as had been the rule before, so that even before Father Henrici had died, the extreme peace and quiet simplicity of the village had disappeared. The store which had been carried on by the Society for years, was leased. The hotel was leased. Houses were rented to outsiders. Still the village is quiet, decent and orderly.** Last summer large bridge works were being erected on property purchased from the Harmony Society, the hotel was crowded by men employed at these works, every house in the village was occupied, and Economy had a base ball nine.

The chief recreation of the Harmonists was music. Every member of the Society had some training, and almost every one could play some musical instrument. They celebrated Christmas, Easter and Good Friday, as well as their own Harmonie-Fest, Danksagungstag, and Liebesmahl. At each of these cele-

**Testimony of J. T. Brooks.

brations music played a prominent part, and elaborate programs were arranged for them. A number of paintings are in the "Great House," the most valuable of which is West's "Christ Healing the Sick." Soon after settling in Economy, Frederick Rapp procured, from New York and Philadelphia, at an expense of several thousand dollars, an extensive museum of curiosities, consisting of rare minerals, fine paintings, collections of birds, insects, shells, etc., besides Indian antiquities, and other new and strange things. But the museum was found to be an unprofitable investment, and it was sold at a sacrifice. Its mineralogical department, after remaining for a time in the custody of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital, was ultimately transferred to the Western University of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburgh, where its remains may still be seen.*

The Harmony Society owned a large library. About 1830 there were in this library 360 books, a partial list of which follows:

Geschichte der grossen Teutonen. Graf von Wakerbarth.
 Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert. Stöber. 8 Bände.
 Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Ebling.
 Beschreibung der Welt. Walz.
 Reise durch einige der Vereinigten Staaten. Schöpf.
 Annalen der Geschichte Frankreichs.
 Deutsche Geschichte und Deutschlands traurige Ereignisse.
 Humboldt's Reise um die Welt. 4 Bände.
 Cook's Reise um die Welt.
 Texer's Reise durch Spanien und Portugal.
 Abriss der Geschichte der Christlichen Religion.
 Neueste Religionsbegebenheiten.
 Reformations-Geschichte. Roos. 2 Bände.
 Thieme's Grundlinien einer Geschichte aller Religionen.
 Evangelischer Lehrbegriff. Hartmann.
 Rieger's Leichter Weg zum Himmel.
 Rieger's Predigten.
 Biblisches Erbauungsbuch. Seiler.
 Der Prophet Amos. Justi.
 Das Geheimniss der Gottseligkeit. Ganz.

* Williams, *The Harmony Society*, p. 70.

Bild Gottes in den ersten Christen.
Der Weg zu Christo. J. Böhme.
Ein hundert und sieben und siebenzig Fragen. J. Böhme.
Auflösung der obigen.
Betrachtung der drei Principien göttlichen Wesens. J. Böhme.
Von der Menschwerdung Jesu Christi. J. Böhme.
Erklärung des ersten Buchs Moses. J. Böhme.
Betrachtung göttlicher Offerbarung. J. Böhme.
Vierzig Fragen von der Seele. J. Böhme.
Von der Geburt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen. J. Böhme.
Die ganze Theologie der neuen Kirche. Swedenborg.
Rabener's Satiren.
Humanität und Menschen. Jean Pauls.
Lavater's Lebensbeschreibung. Gessner..
Fragmente über Menschenbildung. E. M. Arndt.
Das Räuber-Mädchen.
Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuber-Hauptmann.
Shakespeare's Schauspiele.
Thudelinde von Baiern, Königin der Langobarden.
Almansor, der Sultan's-Sohn.
Robinson, der Jüngere.
Farbenlehre von Göthe.
Giling's Handbuch der Mineralogie.
Anfangs-Gründe der Metallurgie.
Rabener's Briefe, Leben und Schriften.
Geister-Kunde. Jung-Stilling.
Grüner Mann. Jung-Stilling.
Menschenfreund. Jung-Stilling.
Kleine gesammelte Schriften. Jung-Stilling.
Gedichte. Jung-Stilling.
Klopstock's Werke.
Young's Nachtgedanken.
Young's Sämmtliche Werke.
Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. Herder.
Gessner's Sämmtliche Schriften.
Der Tod Abels. Gessner.
Der Tod Adams. Klopstock.
Todesgesänge. Schubart.

Schubart's Gedichte.

Urania, Taschenbuch für Damen.

Elegien und vermischte Gedichte. Tiedge.

Poetische Werke. Uz.

Sammlung prosaischer Schriftsteller und Dichter.

Klopstock und Schiller.

Gellert's Moralische Vorlesungen.

John Bunyan.

Many of these books are still in the collection at Harmony. Since this list was compiled, other books have been added to the collection, some probably by purchase, and some were in the possession of individual members, at whose death they were placed with the others.

Among the books in this collection, in addition to those just mentioned, are:

Wezel's Lustspiele. Carlsruhe, 1789.

Fénelon's *Télémaque*. (English.)

Poppe's *Gewerthslehre*. Wien, 1833.

Lavater's *Messiad*. 4 Bände. 1783.

Kotzebue's *Erinnerungen*. Berlin, 1805. 3 Bände.

Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens. Kotzebue, Berlin, 1803.

Herder's *Zur schönen Literatur und Kunst*. Wien, 1817.

Carl von Carlsberg, oder über menschliche Elend. Chr. Gottlieb Salzmann. Leipzig, 1785.

Der Kuckukstein oder die Ritter des Elbhochlandes. Ewald Dietrich. Meissen, 1825.

Kakerlak, oder Geschichte eines Rosenkreuzers. Leipzig, 1784.

Paracelsi Bücher und Schriften durch Johannem Huserum Brigoum in Druck gegeben. Strassburg, 1603.

Urach, der Wilde. Roman. Leipzig, 1808. 2 Bände.

Thornton Abbey. Philadelphia, 1811.

Gumal und Lina, eine Geschichte für Kinder. Kasper Lossius. Gotha, 1816.

Konrad und Siegfried von Feuchtwangen. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1792.

Englische Landwirtschaft. Albrecht Thoe. Hannover, 1806.

- Ueber Newton's Farben-Theorie, Herrn von Göthe's Farbenlehre und den chemischen Gegensatz der Farben. Dr. C. H. Pfaff.
- S. Th. Sömmering vom Baue des menschlichen Körpers. Frankfurt a. M., 1791.
- Handbuch der menschlichen Anatomie. Johann Friedrich Mechel. Halle und Berlin, 1815.
- Schmidt's Jahrbücher der Gesammten Medicin. 3 Bände. 1868.
- Reine Arzneimittellehre. Samuel Hahnemann. Dresden, 1825. 10 Bände.
- Vermischte Chirurgische Schriften. Joh. L. Schmucker. Frankenthal, 1788.
- Beiträge zu einer praktischen Fieberlehre. Chr. Fr. Richter. Berlin, 1795.
- Rhapsodien. Ludwиг Theobul Kosegarten. Leipzig, 1800.
- Handbuch der Religion. Johann August Hermes. Berlin, 1797.
- Der warnende und belehrende Volksfreund. Dr. Johann Poelmann. Erlangen, 1825.
- Liturgisches Magazin. George Friedrich Seiler. Erlangen, 1786.
- Das Menschenleben. Julius Stendro. Hamburg und Mainz, 1804.
- Der Philosoph für die Welt. J. J. Engel. Berlin, 1801. 2 Bände.
- Beleuchtung des sittlich Guten und Bösen. Erfurt und Gotha, 1818.
- Die Veredelung des Menschen. Fr. Ehrenberg. Leipzig, 1803.
- Fleming's Geschichte; Ein Denkmal des Glaubens an Gott und Unsterblichkeit. Leipzig, 1792.
- Weltalter. Johann A. Bengel. Esslingen, 1746.
- Anleitung zur Menschenkenntniss. De la Chambre. Jena, 1794.
- Grundriss eines Systems der anthropologischen Psychologie. Dr. Johann Karl Wezel. Leipzig, 1805.
- Magasin Pittoresque. 1836.
- Chronik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Dr. Karl Venturini. Altona, 1812—1817. 12 Bände.
- Constants Curiose Lebensgeschichte und Fatalitäten. C. G. Salzmann. Leipzig, 1791.
- Romane aus der Christenwelt aller Zeiten. J. A. Kanne. Nürnberg, 1817.

- Die beiden Freunde. A. Lafontaine. Halle und Leipzig, 1819.
- Das heimliche Gericht des Schicksals, oder Rosaura. A. Lafontaine. Halle, 1817.
- Vater Burgheims Reisen mit seinen Kindern. G. W. Mundt. Halle, 1804.
- Unterredungen mit der Jugend. Ernst Chr. Trapp. Hamburg und Kiel, 1775.
- Moralische Erzählungen. Sophie Ludwig. Ronneburg und Leipzig, 1802.
- Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände. In fünfzehn Bänden. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1854.
- Die Familie von Karlsberg, oder die Tugendlehre. Jacob Glatz. Leipzig und Altenberg, 1816.
- Die Gegenwart; Eine encyklopädische Darstellung der neuesten Zeitgeschichte. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1848. 7 Bände.
- Volksthümliches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Dr. Th. Heinsius. Hannover, 1822. 4 Bände.
- Die zwei ersten Schuljahre. R. J. Wurst. Stuttgart, 1865.
- A system of Chemistry in five volumes. Thomas Thomson. Edinburgh, 1810.
- Die Verhältnisse der Zahl nach der Idee der pestalozzischen Methode. Hugger und Stehle. Gmünd, 1815.
- System of Natural Philosophy. J. L. Comstock. New York, 1836.
- The Practical Engineer. John Wallace. Pittsburg, 1853.
- Elemens de Géométrie. S. F. Lacroix. Paris, 1808.
- Patterson's Arithmetic. Pittsburg, 1818.
- Wiesenbau. Joh. Chr. Bernhard. Stuttgart, 1788.
- Grundzüge der Physik und Chemie. K. W. G. Kastner. Nürnberg, 1832.
- Handbuch der praktischen Technologie. Joh. Chr. Gotthard. Hamburg und Mainz, 1805.
- Kleine Weltgeschichte für Kinder. C. B. Feyerabend. Gotha, 1816.
- Beobachtungen und Fantasien auf einer Reise durch Sachsen und Brandenburg im Herbst 1802. P. Scheitlin. St. Gallen, 1807.
- Geschichte des Abfalls der Vereinigten Niederlande. Schiller. Leipzig, 1788.



THE HARMONY PRINTING PRESS.

Allgemeine Weltgeschichte. Dr. Carl V. Rotteck. Stuttgart, 1841.

Life and Essays of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Written by himself. Philadelphia, 1812.

Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn. Thomas Clarkson. Philadelphia, 1813. 2 Vols.

Goldsmith's History of England. Alexandria, 1811.

Fragmente aus Paris im IVten Jahre der französischen Republik. Dr. Joh. L. Meyer. Hamburg, 1797. 2 Bände.

Erdbeschreibung. Dr. Anton Fr. Büschling. 1787.

Deutscher Plutarch. Chr. Niemeyer. Berlin, 1811.

Clarke's Reise durch Russland und die Tartarei in 1800—1801. Weimar, 1817.

Geschichte der Inquisition in Spanien. Robert Clemen. Columbus, O., 1850.

Stunden der Andacht zur Beförderung wahren Christenthums und häuslicher Gottesverehrung. Aarau, 1818. 6 Bände.

Chorgesangbuch für Kirchen und Schulen. Herausgegeben von J. Heinrich Lützel. Kaiserslautern, 1874.

Haas: Kirchen-Chöre. Philadelphia.

Zionsharfe; Gesangbuch für die deutschen Wesleyanischen Methodisten. Cannstatt, 1878.

There are also a large number of Bibles in German, English and French.

There are several editions of the "Harmonisches Gesangbuch." The first edition has the title „Theils von andern Autoren, Theils neu verfasst.“ Zum Gebrauch von Singen und Musik für Alte und Junge. Nach Geschmack und Umständen zu wählen gewidmet. Allentown. Lecha County, im Staat Pennsylvanien. Gedruckt bei Heinrich Ebener, 1820.

The second edition was printed by themselves at Economy, in 1827. A third edition was printed in 1889. Another book, printed by themselves, was „Feurige Kohlen der aufsteigenden Liebesflammen im Lustspiel der Weisheit. Einer nachdenkenden Gesellschaft gewidmet. Gedruckt zu Oekonomie im Jahre 1826.“ Another book from their press was „Gedanken über die Bestimmung des Menschen, besonders in Hinsicht der gegen-

wärtigen Zeit, von der Harmonie Gesellschaft in Indiana, 1824.“ They printed also an English translation of this work.

The first edition of the “*Harmonischer Gesangbuch*” is a volume of 287 pages. The “*Register nach den Hauptmaterien unter welche die Lieder verfasst sind*” contains the following titles: Von den Werken der Schöpfung. Festlieder. Von der Zukunft Jesu zum Gericht. Von der Menschenwerdung Christi. Vom Leiden und Tod Christi. Von der Auferstehung. Vom menschlichen Elend und Verderben. Buss- und Leichen-Lieder. Vom Glauben. Vom Geistlichen Kampf und Sieg. Von der Verleugnung sein Selbst und der Welt. Von dem Verlangen nach Gott. Von der Liebe zu Christo. Von der Bruderliebe. Von der Nachfolge Jesu. Von der Uebergab des Herzens. Vom Frieden und Ruhe der Seelen. Von der wahren Weisheit. Von dem hohen Adel des Menschen. Vom Reich Gottes. Von der Hoffnung Zions. Vom Himmel und Himmlischen Jerusalem. Von der Tugend. Trostlieder. Natur und Gnade. Ueber Wehmuth. Von der Freundschaft. Andachtslieder. Schicksal. Frühlingslieder. Spätjahr und Winter. Von der Freiheit. Von den Klagen Zions. The number of songs in the first edition is 371. The collection was afterwards increased, the third edition containing 518. One striking feature of the song book is the large number of songs which express appreciation of nature. The Harmonists felt the charm of the close contact with nature which their frontier life brought with it.

Before the song books were printed, the members wrote for themselves in strongly bound blank books, collections of their songs. These books contain some songs which were not printed. One manuscript “*Harmonisches Gesangbüchlein*,” dated February 12, 1817, belonged to Ludwig Eppe, at that time seventeen years old. One short unpublished song in this book expresses what the Harmonist conceived to be his mission:

„Dein Denkmal soll am Himmel glänzen,
Harmonie! durch manche Lande
Fahren wir und schaffen zum Paradiese
Jede Wüstenei, den nackten
Fels zum Rebenhügel, Milch und Wein
Und Honigquellen rinnen.

Unser Fusstritt spriesset Blumen,
Und reiche, gute Früchte.
Singt der erhabenen, hoch befreiten Harmonie,
Singt! Fesseln zerspringen, Thaten gelingen;
Du wirst singen, nie erliegen;
Freundeshand, Vaterland,
Geb' ich Dir als Unterpfand.
Ruhm und Heil und Wonne schweben
Nah' schon über Dir,
Bald ist aus Dein Jammerleben,
Ausgestanden hier.“

Another is full of gratitude to “Harmonie” for the material blessings it has brought. This prosperity is regarded as the surety of the richer blessings which “Harmony” will confer in the future life:

„Glückliche! die du durch eine sichtbare Scene den Werth einer bessern Zukunft ahndest, die leitende Weisheit durch ämsige Thätigkeit und Fleiss veredelt deinen freien Staat, dass du den Schrecken des darbenden Jahres nicht fühldest, dich treibt kein Hunger aus thränenloser Despoten Ländern, denn dein reicher Gewinn von tief geackerten eigenen Saaten und üppigen Wiesen ertheilt den Ueberfluss willig; dein ambrosisches Thal voll Honig und stärkender Düfte; allerlei Mohn, des Rebs und Rüben Kräuter, und Blüthen bestäubter Weizen und Roggen staumeln verwebt unter einander in Freundschaft. Liebetrunken befördern die lauen Lüfte ihren geheimen Bund; zu dem umathmenden schwellenden Frühling ernstlich lass nun hören die Töne deines Gesangs, O, schöne Harmonie, du rettende Göttin der heilenden Kräfte, der aromatischen Stände der Myrrhe. Der Inhalt deiner Gesänge ist Anmuth, sie erheben uns zum reizenden Urbild, zur feinsten Empfindung und zum reinen Geschmack. Du erhebst uns in Blüthen wärmende Zonen, mildere Sonnen entblühen dir, duftende Rosen mitten im Paradiese der Flora: lieblich tönt deine Stimme in den Gärten, wo in Amerikas Büschen und Wäldern die deutsche Nachtigall flöthet; reizend ist deine Aussicht, süß dein Wohllaut, unter allen ist doch keine so schön wie du.

Du himmlische Jungfrau von Edens Revier,
 Zur heiligen Botschaft erlesen,
 Entschwebest den niederen Gestalten allhier,
 Verbindst dich mit höhern Wesen“

A third song fortells the extension of Harmonie's realm: „Schwing' deinen schweren Flug, O, Harmonie! Du Zeiten-Messerin, Du Ordnerin der irdischen und himmlischen Dinge. Dein Geist wird noch über Länder und Städt', und duftende Seen, und schachtlichte Berge schweben. Dein Feld ist gross und weit, auf deiner Flur singt schon früh die angenehme Lerche; bald werden suchen die Elenden Deinen Hain, und Dich finden im lachenden Thale, wo alle Freuden sich sammeln, allwo schimmert dein herrlicher Strahl, begeisterter Menschen, vom allbelebenden Licht und erquickender Wärme. Noch alles erhält Bewegung durch Dich, und Leben und Bildung. Du, Frühling der goldenen Zeit, Du vollendest den Wechsel der Zeit, treibst das Leben an, am frühen Morgen des Jahrs, dass es die Erde entschliesse, und die wartende Keime. Willig befolgst Du, O, Harmonie, Dein Amt, und lockst mit wärmender Liebe glänzend Saaten hervor, und brütest die schwellende Knospen, mit welchen erwächst das Reich der Schönheit und Liebe.

Sieh, hier der Himmel ist auf Erden,
 Durch Menschen sollen Menschen werden,
 Wenn Macht und Weisheit sie regiert
 Und Billigkeit das Zepter führt.“

In another manuscript book of Epple's Harmony is defined as the revelation of God in nature:

„Schönheit ist das Göttliche in der Natur und Schöpfung. Mein Herz schauert Wonne vor der Grösse dieses Gedankens! Und in was offenbart sich das Schöne, das Göttliche? In Harmonie. Was sehet, was höret, was fühlt ihr da? Alles ist ganz wahr, nothwendig, nicht ausgewürfelt zu seinem Effect, sondern berechnet; kein Theil ist zu wenig, keins zu viel; keiner verzehrt, noch verschoben; nichts eingestückt, hoch aufgeflückt; alles ein, ein grosses zusammenhängendes, zusammenstimmendes, engverbundenes, und sich frei schwebendes ganzes ist Harmonie. Welche Linien, welche Wendungen, welche leise Verbindungen

ohne Lücken! Dein Lebensdrang, O Harmonie, ist Ausbreitung, Ausdehnung, rastlose, unermüdet nimmer stillstehende Bewegung! Siehe also Gott und Harmonie! Da, da wehen die Abendwinde seiner Gegenwart. Harmonie voll Leben, ein allgebärender Frühling zum alles reifenden Sommer. Ohne Harmonie gibts keine Schönheit; Himmel und Erde sind darin zusammengebunden. Da schwebt die wunderbare Schöpfung auf ihren Schwingen. Was wäre Harmonie ohne Leben?

Mr. Henrici wrote a number of songs and poems. The following has been preserved:

„Veilchen, Rosen, Lilien, Nelken,
Wachsen, blühen und verwelken;
So auch Kinder, jung und schön,
Müssen oft gar bald vergehen.

Doch wenn sie hier fromm und gut,
Werden sie mit Jesu Blut
Rein gewaschen und geziert,
Und ins Paradies geführt.

Wo sie denn erzogen werden
Besser, als hier auf der Erden,
Wo viel böse Menschen leben,
Die ein gottlos Beispiel geben.

Darum sollen wir nicht weinen,
Wenn der Herr den lieben Kleinen
Seine guten Engel schickt
Und sie der Gefahr entrückt.

Drum wollt' lieber jung ich sterben,
Als im Sudentod verderben.
Nur wer Jesu Wort hier hält,
Geht in eine bessre Welt.

Liebster Heiland, darum mache,
Dass ich allzeit bet' und wache,
Dass ich gottlos Wesen meide,
Mich von allem Bösen scheide.

Dann werd' ich der Eltern Freude,
 Und des Heilands Kreuzesbeute,
 Und sein mild vergossnes Blut
 Gibt mir Trost und Kraft und Muth.“

The following tribute in verse to Jonathan Lenz was written
 by Mr. Duss, January 24, 1890:

BEGRÄBNISSLIED.

„Ein treuer Christ
 Und guter Harmonist
 Hat hier vollendet seinen Lauf;
 Er hat auf Christus hin,
 Gerichtet seinen Sinn,
 Bis er ihn hat genommen auf.
 Mit Worten und mit That
 Er hier gewirket hat,
 Den schmalen Weg sich hat erwählt,
 Und ist hier in der Zeit
 Und dort in Ewigkeit
 Zur auserwählten Schaar gezählt.
 Die auferlegte Pflicht
 Hat ihn erschreckt nicht,
 Er schmiegte sich an Christo an,
 Und, weil er so gemacht,
 Jetzt da er es vollbracht,
 Wird er dort seinen Lohn empfahn.
 Wohl dem der's also macht,
 Und hier durch diese Nacht
 Empor zum hellen Lichte dringt;
 So wird er hier und dort
 Erfahren fort und fort,
 Was ihm die Gnade Gottes bringt.
 Herr, hilf', dass wir den Blick
 Nicht wenden mehr zurück;
 Dass wir mit voller Zuversicht
 Und kindlichem Vertrauen,
 Auf Jesum Christum bauen,
 Denn er verlasset uns ja nicht.

Lass uns in dieser Stund'
Erneuern unsern Bund,
Zu leben wie es Dir gefällt,
Bis dass in jenem Land
Von Deiner Vaterhand
Ein jedes seine Kron' erhält."

Mr. Duss also wrote the „Osterlied, geschrieben auf das Osterfest, April 6, 1890."

„Viel Segen diesem Feiertag,
Da kund ward für und für,
Welch' grosse Lieb' der Vater hat
Zu seinen Kindern hier.

Den eignen Sohn vorschont nicht hat,
Ihn gab zum Opfer dar,
Am dritten Tag, O welche Gnad,'
Erwecket wunderbar!

So ist uns heute kund gethan,
Dass die so heilig gehn
Den Wandel ihrer Lebensbahn
Auch werden auferstehen.

Und alle die da gläubig sind
Nicht soll'n verloren sein;
Und jedes fromme Menschenkind
Zu ihm kann gehen ein.

Drum sei viel Dank, Lob, Preis und Ruhm,
Herr, heute Dir bereit't!
Wir weihen uns Dir zum Eigenthum,
In Zeit und Ewigkeit!"

The Harmonists retained their Swabian dialect. With this in the course of time, some English words were mixed, but not many, owing to the slight contact of most of the members with the outer world. Few traces of dialect appear in their correspondence, which is either in normal German or in English. The

persons who conducted this correspondence, Frederick Rapp, Gertrude Rapp, Mr. Baker, Mr. Henrici and Mr. Duss, had the faculty of clear and forcible expression. Their business letters are models of clearness and conciseness, and their personal letters are graceful and polished. Mr. Henrici was a purist in style, both in German and English. He frequently re-wrote a letter several times before he was satisfied with it.

Early in the history of the Society, some effort was made by the leaders to cultivate a purer German among the members, as the following letter to Mr. Henrici shows:

„Economy, Februar 27, 1829.

Jacob!

Es ist Dir bekannt, dass unser Vorsteher den Wunsch geäußert, dass die sämtlichen Gemeinsglieder sich befeissen möchten, ein reines Deutsch zu sprechen, und ihre angewohnte, grobe, verdorbene Redensart zu verbessern. Du weisst, dass manche, besonders junge Leute, sich den Vorsatz gemacht, seinem Wunsch nachzukommen, und sich eine Zeitlang darin geübt haben, aber leider zu bald wieder lässig wurden, und im alten Weg angingen, wie zuvor.

Jede moralische Verbesserung, wie alle andere, hat einen Anfang, der gemeinlich klein, und öfters schwierig ist, aber was vermag der ernste Wille durch die Ausdauer, besonders wenn sich mehrere zu einem Zweck vereinigen.

Du bist Lehrer und vielleicht der erste Mann in verschiedenen Hinsichten, der besagte Verbesserung am ersten betreiben sollte. Willst Du einen Anfang machen, so bin ich der zweite, der mit einstimmt, und viele, besonders unsere Compagnie, treten bei. Denke einmal darüber nach und, wenn Du Lust hast, so mache mir einen schriftlichen Vorschlag, wie die Sache am füglichsten einzuleiten wäre, damit unser Bestreben mit gutem Erfolg gekrönt wird.

Dein Bruder,

R. L. BAKER.”

But the project here suggested was not executed. Mr. Baker himself in later years, when spiritual leader, preached to the people in that Swabian dialect, the use of which he had once sought to discontinue.

The failure to distinguish between the surd and sonant stops, and the consequent confusion of the symbols for these sounds, appears frequently. In George Rapp's letter, of September 12, 1803, the forms occur: Lengester (Lancaster), Cumperland (Cumberland), enthalden (enthaltten), verholden, Pabiere (Papiere), Dantzet (tanzt), Zehenden (Zehnten). In this letter the plural "Mann" (Männer) is used. In a poem by Jacob Neff, 1804, occur: Bässe (Pässe), dessediren (dessertieren), pumben (pumpen), dreiben (treiben), Kreise (Greise), Sebratist (Separatist). He also uses the form "willt" (willst). Elsewhere are met: Meiten (meiden), munder (munter), vertammen, Wälter (Wälder). Frederick Rapp once writes "gelooffen" (gelaufen).

English units of measure frequently occur in German letters: Dollar, cent, section, acre. Other English expressions met with are: Profit, agreement, trouble (Trubel), editor, presents, reels, pattern, doubling and twisting machines. In conversation they used "fence" (Fenz) for Zaun and "yard" for Hof. The out-building in each yard used as a general store room was the "Schöpple" (shop). Beneath the "Schöpple" was the "Rübenloch" a small cellar for beets, perhaps also potatoes or apples. Little chickens were called "Henkele." They always got their meat from the "Butscher" (butcher) at his "Schopp." The tin shop was the "Blechnerschopp;" "Stohr" was always used for Laden. A clearing was a "Klaring" or "Klärung," a wood-pasture a "Waldpaster." On the whole, the number of English words in general use among them was comparatively small.

The fields they cleared they called: Gerbers Wiese, Gosenfeld, Schmidtefeld, Bräuns Klamme, Kalksfenklamme, Blumenthal, Zuckerthal — where they made maple sugar; Hirschwanne, where the last deer was shot, Hesslersthäle. The north street of the town was the "Rothe Gässle," so named from several buildings painted red.

It is just one hundred years since George Rapp led his fellow Separatists to America. The Society which they formed is a unique example of the religious community. Throughout its entire history, it has been directed by persons of unusual ability, while the intelligence and culture of the members were equal or superior to that of their neighbors. It is doubtful if any colony

of 700 persons in American history has comprised more general intelligence and industrial efficiency. In business matters the Society's name was synonymous with integrity.

The Harmony Society has almost passed away*, but its influence will long be felt. It was an important factor in the industrial development of Western Pennsylvania and Southern Indiana. Its members were pioneers in the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, of oil, of silk, in the use of steam for manufacturing purposes in the western country. To it the town of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, owes its conception and establishment.

The opinion of Robert Owen, who purchased their Indiana settlement, has been fully justified by the latter history of the Society. "It is due to the Society who formed this settlement to state that I have not yet met with more kind hearted, temperate and industrious citizens, nor found men more sincere, upright and honest in all their dealings, than the Harmonists."*

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* April 15, 1904, one of the four members of the Society died. At that date the survivors were Mrs. Susie C. Duss, Trustee, Franz Gillmann and Barbara Bösch.

*The New Harmony Communities, p. 41.



TOOLS MADE BY THE SOCIETY.

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APPENDIX.

George Rapp and the Separatist Movement in Iptingen, Würtemberg, from 1785 to 1805.

Auszüge aus alten Akten, besonders Kirchenconventsprotokollen.*

1. „Iptingen, 15. April 1785.

Nachdem sich ein Separatist von hier mit seinem Eheweib hervorgetan und sich solche beide nicht nur überhaupt von der Kirche, sondern auch von dem christlichen Gebrauch des heiligen Abendmahls abgesondert, so wurde kraft herzoglicher Verordnung der Separatist mit seinem Eheweib vorgefordert und zu Protokoll vernommen:

(a) Wie er heisst und wie alt er ist?

Hans Jörg Rapp, Adams Sohn, Achtundzwanzig Jahre.

Ob er ein Handwerksmann oder Bauer?

Des Handwerks ein Weber.

Wie sein vorhergehendes Leben gewesen?

Uebel, und er habe sich der Kirchenzucht nicht unterworfen, weshalb ihm der Pastor das Consilium gegeben, diesmal sollte er sich vom Abendmahl enthalten bis auf weitere Besserung.

Ob er sich völlig und auf immer von der Kirche und dem öffentlichen Gebrauch des heiligen Abendmahls zu enthalten gedenke?

Ja, auf immer.

*These excerpts from the local archives of Iptingen were obtained by Professor Learned through the kindly efforts of Pastor Riethmüller, of Goechingen, from the late Pastor Elsenhans, of Iptingen.

Was er vor Anstösse deshalb habe?

Weil er die Quelle selbst gefunden habe und der Körper selbst in Christo Jesu sei.

Ob er solches schriftlich von sich zu geben bereit sei?

Ja, er wolle solches bis Sonntag dem Pfarramt überreichen.

Ob er seine Principia ausbreite und andern beizubringen suche?

Nein, wann ihn niemand frage, so sage er nichts.

Wer zu ihm komme?

Christian Hörnle und Michael Conzelmann hier.

Zu wem er komme?

Er komme in gar kein Haus, weder in Christian Hörnles Haus.

Was er für Bücher brauche?

Er habe gar kein Buch ausser seiner Mutter Bibel und dem siebenten Teil Dr. Luthers Bücher.

Ob er keine Bücher sonst unter die Gemeinde, woher er es auch habe, zu bringen trachte?

Nein.

Ob und wann und mit wem er Convent halte?

Bei Nacht gleich nach dem Nachtessen kommt Christian Hörnle und Michael Conzelmann bald am Dienstag, bald Mittwoch oder Donnerstag zusammen und da halten sie eine Betstunde miteinander.

Ob auch Fremde zu ihm kommen?

Nein.

Ob und wohin er am Sonn- und Feiertag auslaufe?

Weil es bisher Winter gewesen, so sei er nirgends hingekommen.

Ob er etwas vom gemeinen Almosen geniesse?

Nein.

Ob er zum gemeinen Almosen beitrage?

Nein, ins Waisenhaus gebe er jährlich etwas.

t. praevia praetextione: Johann Georg Rapp.

(b) Des Hans Jörg Eheweib.

Ob sie ihres Ehemanns Gesinnung sei wegen der gänzlichen Enthaltung von der Kirche und vom öffentlichen Gebrauch des heiligen Abendmahls?

Ja, so lang sie keinen Trieb in die Kirche zu gehen in sich finde und keinen Trieb fühle zum heiligen Abendmahl zu gehen, so lang sei sie ihres Ehemannes Gesinnung.

Ob sie das von ihr selber thue oder ihrem Ehemann zu Gefallen?

Sie thue es von ihr selber.

Was sie dann vor Ursache dazu habe?

Es sei ihr unerträglich, dass man wieder die Separatisten predige.

Ob sie nicht wisse, dass ich (der Pfarrer) dafür zu stehen habe, wann ich als ein stummer Hund der Spaltung in der Kirche nicht wehre?

Ja.

Ob sie also auf obigem Satz beharre?

Ja, sie bleibe dabei.

t. praevia praetextione,

Christine Rappin.

Z. B. der Verhandlung,

Kirchenconvent:

M. Andreas Genter

Johann Georg Häcker,

Johann Friedrich Krämer,

Israel Schmid.

2. Erst am 23. Januar 1787 erfolgte auf Weisung des herzoglichen Consistoriums eine Mahnung an das „separatistische Ehepaar und Consorten“ von ihrer Gesinnung abzugehen, sich wieder zur Kirche zu halten und „doch keine Versammlung halten zu wollen, welches der Kirche Gottes, mithin dem Reich Jesu Christi, höchst nachtheilig.“

Dabei erklärt Rapp er bleibe bei dem früheren und er könne sich zu der jetzigen Art in der Kirche nicht verstehen.

Was er meine? Es sei das, was in der Bibel stehe, nur ein Zeugniß von dem selbstständigen Wort, das Niemand als er und seine Brüder kenne. Das Abendmahl sei ein Götzendienst und greuliche Lästerung.

Er sage das nur unter den Brüdern, aber die Versammlungen lassen sie sich nicht wehren. Den Pfarrer erkenne er weder als im Namen Gottes berufen und lehrend an, noch stehe ihm von staatsweg geistliche Macht zu, namentlich könne er nimmermehr in Gottes Namen Sünden lösen und binden.

Ganz ähnlich spricht auch Christian Hörnle, der einige Bücher angibt, .. Berlenburger Bibel, .. und ein Buch von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge, und seine Ehefrau Susanne, welche überzeugt, dass ihr Mann „den rechten Weg“ habe.

Michael Conzelmann: Die Kirche sei nicht die wahre, weil nicht wiedergeboren; die Bibel enthalte Geheimnisse und Räthsel.

Ebenso Johannes Hörnle; weniger entschieden die Ehefrau Katharine des Schuhmacher Walz.

3. Da weitere Vorstellungen und Entscheid zum Aufgeben der Absonderung und besonders zur Abbitte des Rapp wegen seiner Herabsetzung des Pfarrers erfolglos, wird am 17. Februar 1787 alles dem gemeinschaftlichen Oberamt übergeben.

4. Hierher gehört der aus dem „Gemeinen Flecken Brauchbuch“ im Rathaus entnommene Gemeinschaftlich oberamtliche Befehl die hiesigen Separatisten betreffend:

Mit innigster Betrübniß und Unwillen haben wir aus den eingekommenen Berichten .. ersehen, was für Eigenmächtigkeiten sich Hans Jörg Rapp, Christian Hörnle, Michael Conzelmann und Johannes Hörnle in dem unsrer Aufsicht gnädigst anvertrauten Amtsort Iptingen herausnehmen und was für eine Zerrüttung in Kirche, Schule und Polizei daher zu besorgen stehe.

Auswärtige Separatisten verehren Gott in der Stille nach ihren Begriffen, lassen die öffentlichen Anstalten unangefochten und fügen sich den landesherrlichen Verordnungen mit dem besten Willen. Wann aber Hans Jörg Rapp und seine Anhänger dem vortrefflichen Generalrescript vom 10. Oktober 1743 schnurstracks zuwider handeln, den geistlichen Stand gar nicht erkennen wollen, und was den weltlichen Stand anbetrifft, sich erfrechen, der ihnen vorgesetzten Ortsobrigkeit bei Publikation der herrschaftlichen Verordnung zu antworten: „das lassen wir uns nicht nehmen, das lassen wir uns nicht verbieten;“ wann sie von der heiligen Bibel geringfügig urteilen — wann sie das heilige

Abendmahl unbestimmt als ein Götzenopfer lästern — wann sie mit unerträglichem Stolz alles um sich herum verdammten, die Kirchgänger öffentlich für Heuchler erklären, sich (wie wir zuverlässig wissen) Anhänger und Jünger zu werben suchen, allein Herren sein, eine eigne Kirche statt der öffentlichen Kirche, und einen eignen Staat im Staat ausmachen wollen, . . . so ist der Name Separatist viel zu gelind für sie; sie sind gefährliche Störer der öffentlichen Kirche und Ordnung, folglich der Duldung unfähig und auf eine einstweilige Probe einer ernsthafteren Behandlung benötigt.

Demnach wollen wir zur Abwendung weiteren Unfugs folgendes verordnen:

1. Die Leute sind in gleichem Grad unwissend und stolz, daneben in ihren Angaben nicht redlich. Aus diesem Grund halten wir für nötig, dass unversehens zu gleicher Zeit in jedes ihrer Häuser zwei Deligierte vom Magistrat geschickt werden, die sich nach den vorhandenen Büchern umsehen, die Bibel, Schulbücher und anderen allgemeinen Erbauungsbücher zurücklassen, die übrigen aber dem Pfarramt zur Einsicht überliefern sollen.

2. Nach diesem wollen sich, wie bei Verfassung des Protokolls, so auch nunmehr bei der Eröffnung unseres Bescheids die geistliche und weltliche Gemeindevorsteher versammeln, die oben benannten Männer nebst den separatistischen Weibern vorbescheiden und aus Vorstehendem ihnen zu erkennen geben, wie wir die Sache ansehen und dass ihnen die bürgerlichen Beneficien und namentlich die Holzgabe so lange zurückbehalten werde, bis sie sich eines Besseren begreifen und in Ordnung fügen. Sodann solle:

a. Hans Jörg Rapp seinen gegen den wohlverdienten heiligen Pfarrer, M. Genter, bezeugten Trotz demselben vor dem gesessenen Gericht abbitten oder aber im Verweigerungsfall mit verhältnismässiger Einkerkering abbüssen.

b. Nächst dem wäre der Susanna, Christian Hörnles Ehefrau zu erkennen zu geben, dass ihre elende Erklärung uns besorgen mache, der Weg, von dem sie keinen Verstand habe, möchte sie ins Tollhaus führen.

c. Vergeht sich in der Folge einer oder der andere erweislich mit unziemlichen Reden oder gar mit Lästerung wieder die heilige Schrift, Sakramente, Kirche, Predigtamt, herzogliche Verordnung, so soll er unmittelbar nebst Bericht zum herzoglichen Oberamt Maulbronn wohl verwahrlich eingeliefert werden.

d. Das längst verbotene Auslaufen an Sonn- und Feiertagen muss nach den vorliegenden Verordnungen gerügt werden.

e. Der Umgang unter den öffentlichen Gottesdiensten an Sonn- und Feiertagen muss genau gehalten, nötigenfalls mit mehreren Personen verstärkt, die Häuser der Widerspenstigen visitirt, sie auseinander getrieben und Bosch von Wieresheim mit Bedrohung der Einkerkierung auf den Wiederbetretungsfall zum Daheimbleiben verwiesen werden.

Noch haben wir für die Söhne des Christian Hörnle zu sorgen:

a. Den 19jährigen Sohn Israel wolle Herr Pastor von der göttlichen Anordnung des Predigtamts, von dem Nutzen unserer kirchlichen Verfassung und Anstalten, von dem schuldigen Gehorsam gegen die Obrigkeit, von der Gefahr derer, die andern Aergernis geben, liebevoll belehren, um ihn zu überzeugen, dass er Gott mehr gehorchen müsste als den Menschen, auch seinen Eltern, sofort ihn zu fleissiger Besuchung der Kirche und besonders zum Vorstehen in der Kinderlehre und Sonntagschule zu ermahnen. Folgt er aber nicht, so ist er kirchenconventlich für eine jede vorsätzliche Versäumnis den bekannten Vorschriften gemäss zu bestrafen.

b. Eine ähnliche Vorstellung solle der Schulmeister dem Schulknaben machen und ihn *de facto* zum Rechnen anhalten.

Gott gebe, dass die offenbar irre gehenden Leute zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit kommen.

Wir gewärtigen uns zu seiner Zeit weiteren Bericht von dem Erfolg der Sachen und dieser unsrer einstweiligen Verfügung. Uebrigens wird wegen der subordinationswidrigen ja gotteslästerlichen Ausdrücke das weitere vorbehalten und auf

das künftige Benehmen dieser schwärmerischen Leute ausgesetzt.

Maulbronn, den 8. Februar 1782.

Gemeinschaftliches Oberamt Maulbronn — Dürrmenz.

Rümelin, M. Josef Friedr. Essich.

5. Erst unter dem 14. März 1788 findet sich wieder ein Eintrag von einem Verhör gegen ein neues Glied, Johann Georg Waltz, mit der neuen Angabe, dass bei den Versammlungen Räßple ein Kapitel aus dem Neuen oder auch Alten Testament erkläre, wo ihm ein Aufschluss geschehe, besonders auch aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Es kommen auch Fremde ein, zwei, drei bis fünf, zum Teil zehn bis zwölf Stunden her, deren Namen er nicht kenne, er höre nur zu.

6. Bei einem besonderen Verhör 1790 gab der Separatist Hörnle an auf die Frage:

„Wie es der Separatisten in kurzer Zeit so viele geworden? Sie seien fast zumal heraus kommen, da der Pfarrer einmal so gegen sie gepredigt; da habe er die Sache mit dem Rapp, welcher der erste gewesen, geprüft und so auch die andern, bis sie alle von diesem Weg zur Seligkeit Ueberzeugung gewonnen.“

Der Pfarrer rechtfertigt sich darüber: Schon zu Anfang des Jahres sei doch amtlich festgestellt worden, dass die und die sich von der Kirche losgesagt, so habe nicht die Predigt an Invocavit der Anlass zur Trennung sein können, vielmehr seien manche, die hernach im Schwanken gewesen, ob sie jenen folgen wollen, nach eigener Aussage wieder befestigt worden. Uebrigens wird ihm dann doch besondere Vorsicht und Milde ans Herz gelegt.

7. In einem Protokoll vom 7. Juli 1792 werden als Aussprüche Rapps angeführt:

„Die Kirche sei ein Babel;“ „Die Kirche sei nicht von Gott, sie sei vom Teufel;“ „von den Pfaffen, die essen und trinken, ihren Bauch mästen und die Armen nicht versorgen;“ „Wie kann reines Wasser aus unlauteren Quellen kommen?“

Ferner wird in diesem Protokoll festgestellt, dass ihre Versammlungen bis über die Mitternacht hinaus währen, dass jetzt auch teils weither Fremde kommen: Wieresheim, Somersheim, Illingen, Aurich (zwei Stunden), Calus, Gärtringen, Nürtingen, Ehningen (sechs Stunden südlicher Gegend), Walddorf, Schorm-

dorf, Strümpfelberg (zehn bis zwölf Stunden östlich; Remstal.) Dreissig, ja, fünfzig bis sechzig Personen, so dass Hörnle am heiligen Pfingstfest eine Diele zersägte, um Bänke zu machen.

8. Weil nun die Separatisten ihre Kinder nicht in die Schule schickten, suchte man sie um desswillen zu strafen; bei Ansetzung von sechs Kreuzer Strafe erklärte Rapp höhnisch und trotzig, er lass es zusammenkommen, bis er hundert Kreuzer seien.

Ueber den Vorhalt, dass er nächtliche ungeordnete Versammlungen dulde, sagte er wieder trotzig, er schliesse sein Haus vor keinem Menschen zu, der gerne zu ihm komme.

9. Die nächsten Protokolle und die nächste Zeit bieten nicht viel Neues; es scheint aber die Unordnung zugenommen zu haben, sofern

a. Nun auch der Confirmandenunterricht und die Confirmation verachtet wurde.

b. Auch andere Leute erklärten, wenn die Separatisten ihre Kinder nicht in die Schule schicken und darüber nicht gestraft und gezwungen werden, so behalten sie ihre Kinder auch daheim.

c. Die Umgänger (eine früher gebräuchliche Kirchenpolizei, welche während der Gottesdienste überall nachsehen sollten, ob in den Häusern und Strassen des Orts nichts sabbatwidriges geschehe) erklärten, sie können ihr Amt nicht mehr ausrichten, da Rapp sie zwei Teufelsboten genannt habe und gedroht, wenn sie wieder in ihre, der Separatisten, Versammlungen kommen, so werden sie sehen, was geschehe; auch habe, wenn sie nicht die Separatisten zum Gehorsam oder wirksamer Strafe bringen dürften, ihr ganzer Umgang, auch bei anderen, keinen Wert.

Es ist von eigentlicher Bestrafung in den Protokollen wenig zu lesen, nur einmal als Rapp vor dem Kirchenconvent wegen lästerlicher Reden vorgeladen ist, gibt er an, „um dieser willen sei er das letztmal nach Maulbonn citirt und von hochlöblichem Oberamt mit der Turmstrafe belegt worden.“

10. Im Jahre 1798 erst werden Geldstrafen angesetzt und zwar wegen zweimaliger eigenmächtiger Taufe ohne Not von seiten des Vaters dem Kocher zehn Reichstaler.

Wegen fortgesetzter Schulversäumniß verschiedene ziemlich hohe Summen, so dem Rapp selber 136 Gulden 14 Kreuzer; welche Strafen sie zu bezahlen willig versprochen.

Solche Taufen kommen nun bei mehreren vor von seiten der Väter, auch bei einem schwärmerischen Schuhmacher Walz, der sich im übrigen nicht zu den Rappischen hielt.

Später wird Rapp (Dezember 1799) einmal vorgeladen und bestraft mit Geld wegen Holzsägens und -spaltens und Branntweinbrennens am Sonntag, wobei er erklärt, „der Sonntag verbinde keinen gewissenshalber zur Feier desselben, das sei eine jüdische Ceremonie und innerhalb Hauses könne jeder tun was er wolle, aber dennoch halten sie den Sonntag um der anderen willen.“ Es wurde aber das nur als Ausflucht angesehen.

Weiter wurden vier Separatisten mit Geld bestraft, weil sie am Karfreitag während der Vormittagskirche von einem Händler Schweine gekauft und sie unter der Kirche durch die Strassen heimgetrieben haben.

II. 1802 und 1803 wiederholen sich ähnliche Protokolle, dass von den Oberbehörden immer in derselben Weise Erhebungen angeordnet werden, im ganzen dieselben Berichte kommen und dann Mahnungen und Vorstellungen sich anschliessen. So lautet ein Erlass:

„Friedrich der Zweite von Gottes Gnaden Herzog von Württemberg und Teck:

Unsern Gruss zuvor, lieben Getreuen! Wir haben bei unserer herzoglichen Synode ausserdem, was in der diesjährigen Kirchenvisitationsrelation von Iptingen von dem daselbst immer wachsenden Separatismus uns vorgekommen ist, noch weiter von andern Seiten her in Erfahrung gebracht, dass die Iptinger Separatisten grosse Zusammenkünfte halten, viele Fremde dazukommen, und die Zahl oft über 100 ansteige, dass Rapp das heilige Abendmahl administriere, Opfer und manche andern Geschenke erhebe und dass von da aus eine ausgebreitete Correspondenz selbst ins Ausland geführt werde. Da nun sehr viel daran gelegen ist von diesen Tatsachen Gewissheit und Beweise zu erhalten, so wird Euch hiermit gnädigst aufgegeben, in der Stille genaue Nachforschung anzustellen und das Erlernte gleich-

balden an unser Herzogliches Consistorium untertänigst zu berichten.

Darin geschieht unsre Meinung und wir verbleiben Euch in Gnaden gewogen.

Stuttgart, 14. Oktober 1802.

Dem Dekan in Dürrmenz und Oberamt in Maulbronn.“

12. Unter 23. Juli 1803 wird ein neuer eindringlicher Versuch gemacht, „nach Abzug des Georg Rappen, der Haus und Güter verkauft und um einen neuen Wohnsitz sich umsieht, „die zurückbleibenden Separatisten zur Ordnung, zur Beschränkung ihrer Versammlungen auf die hiesigen Mitglieder und auf geordnete Stunden (weder während eines Gottesdienstes noch bei Nacht) zu bewegen.

13. Bald knüpfen sich Verhandlungen an, dass ein Mann ohne seine Frau nach Amerika will und zwar mit ihrer Genehmigung, sie will jetzt noch nicht mit, vielleicht später nachkommen. Johann Georg Wild und Anna Maria Wild, den 4. April 1804.

Wer und wie viele Brüder im Sommer 1804 dem Rapp gefolgt sind, lässt sich nicht bestimmen. Wahrscheinlich fünf Ehepaare, dreizehn Kinder, etliche ledige und die jetzt anzuführende Flattich.

14. Später will die Tochter dieses Wild, Ehefrau des Jakob Flattich, mit Vater und Brüdern auch hinein, dabei hat sie ihrem Mann bei verschiedenen Verkäufen Geld auf die Seite getan, Kleider und Betten verkauft. Sie lässt sich nach mehrfachem Zureden zu dem Versprechen bringen, bei ihrem Ehemann zu bleiben. Wie es aber darauf ankommt, geht sie doch mit und hinterlässt nachstehenden Brief:

„Scheidebrief der Anna Maria Flattich geb. Wild, Iptingen, 28. April 1804.

Da Dir schon bekannt ist, dass ich mich der Separation ganz ergeben und jetzt die Zeit vorhanden ist, da alle meine Brüder, mit denen ich verbunden bin, abreisen, so wirst Du den Schluss selbst machen können, dass ich nicht mehr bei Dir sein kann, sondern habe mir den Schluss selbst gemacht mit meinen Brüdern zu gehen, denn mein Dasein würde Dir nicht mehr nutz sein, weil mein ganzes Herz in meine Brüderschaft eingelebt ist; um aber Dich nicht in eine gespannte Lage zu

setzen, sondern Dich Deinem eignen Gutbefinden zu überlassen, spreche ich Dich von allen den Pflichten, die Du als Ehemann gegen mich gehabt und auf Dich genommen, wohlbedächtig ganz frei und los, so dass Du von heute an, Dich, wenn es Dir beliebt, kannst in eine andere Verbindung oder Ehe einlassen, wie und wann Du willst, und sehe unsre eheliche Verbindung als nicht geschehen an. Ersuche daher alle Obrigkeit in diesem Fach, dass sie diese meine Dir erlassene Freiheit möchten gütigst angedeihen lassen, indem es mein ernster Entschluss ist, mich niemals in das eheliche Fach zu begeben, danke Dir auch zugleich für alle mir erwiesene Liebe und Freundschaft, die Du mir getan. Solches bekenne ich mit meiner eignen Namensunterschrift.

ANNA MARIA FLATTICHIN.“

15. 1806 werden noch achtzehn Separatisten (acht Männer, zehn Frauen) aufgezählt, von denen ein Teil 1813 und 1814 den früheren nach Amerika folgte, die übrigen als die ruhigeren offenbar allmählich wieder Frieden mit der Landeskirche geschlossen haben.

16. Einen gewissen Ausgleich der Gerechtigkeit gibt, nachdem wir die Sache bisher doch in der Hauptsache durch die Brille des damaligen Pfarrer Genter (von dem Jahr 1803 ab, Wiedersheim) gesehen haben, eine Bemerkung in einer Pfarrbeschreibung (etwa aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1840):

„Separatisten befinden sich etliche in der Gemeinde; diese leiten ihren Ursprung daher: Pfarrer Götz von hier bildete eine Anzahl Pietisten, sein Nachfolger Genter als Feind der Pietisten eiferte in jedem Gottesdienst gegen diese. Sie drohten ihm, dass sie aus der Kirche bleiben müssten, wenn er nicht aufhörte gegen sie zu eifern, aber fruchtlos, und so haben sie sich von der Kirche getrennt. Nachher wurden sie durch den Einfluss eines Rapps, der sich zum Chef aufgeworfen und sogar politische Zwecke in seinen Plan aufgenommen, verschlimmert und als dieser fürchtete, man gehe ihm zu Leibe, so wanderte er mit einem grossen Teil von ihnen nach Amerika aus, wo er jetzt noch als Despot über die Gesellschaft, die sich Harmonie nennt, herrscht und eine glänzende Rolle spielt.“

17. Gegenwärtig gibt es in der kleinen Gemeinde von 788



Johann Georg Rapp's House in Iptingen.



View of Iptingen.

Seelen noch vier Gruppen neben den allgemeinen Gemeindegliedern: Eine kleine altpietistische Gemeinschaft (fünf Männer, zwölf Weiber), ferner eine Pregizerstunde (acht Männer, fünfzehn bis zwanzig Weiber) beide im ganzen kirchenfreundlich, und eine methodistische Richtung (drei Männer, zehn bis fünfzehn Weiber, noch nicht ganz von der Landeskirche gelöst.)

Die Rappische Zeit hat nur noch insofern ihre Wellenringe bis in die Gegenwart hineingetrieben, als in den letzten Jahrzehnten bei nahender Auflösung der Economygesellschaft die Erbhoffnung und Lust aufs höchste steigerte. Rapp, die mit jener Familie verwandt wären, sind allerdings nicht mehr hier, dagegen in Nussdorf und von manchen Orten Württembergs, ja Deutschlands, kommen Anfragen von Leuten, die Rapp heissen oder einen Rapp zu Schwieger und Grossvater hatten; von hier waren es dann besonders die Hörnlichen. Es wurden Stammbäume gefordert, wurden Advokaten Procente versprochen, alles umsonst.

18. Aus dem Rappischen Stammbaum.

I.

Nussdorf.

Hans Rapp, geb. 1620, ges. 1696.

Erste Frau (?)

Zweite Frau: Elisabeth, geb. Fiedler.

II.

Nussdorf.

Hans Jörg Rapp, copulirt 1677 mit
Margrete Schuler.

Iptingen, hierher gezogen.

III.

Iptingen.

Hans Jörg Rapp, geb. 23. Oktober 1678; copulirt
1707 mit Barbara Rieger.

IV.

Hans Adam Rapp, geb. 13. Mai 1720; ges. 16. Mai
1771; copulirt 12. Oktober 1755 mit
Rosine Berger; ges. 1. Februar 1796.

V.

- 1 Marie Dorothea Rapp, geb. 11. Oktober 1756.
- 2 Johann Georg Rapp, geb. 1. November 1757; ges. Economy, 7. August 1847; copulirt 4. Februar 1783 mit Christine Benzinger.
Vater 1803, Mutter und Kinder 1804 nach Amerika.
- 3 Elise Dorothea Rapp, geb. 7. August 1760; copulirt 27. November 1804; zog 1817 mit ihrem Mann nach Amerika.
- 4 Adam Rapp, geb. 9. März 1762, soll unterwegs nach Amerika auf dem Schiff gestorben sein.
- 5 Marie Barbara Rapp, geb. 21. Oktober 1765; 1817 nach Amerika ausgewandert.

VI.

(Kinder von Johann Georg Rapp und Christina, seiner Frau.)

- 1 Johannes Rapp, geb. 22. Dezember 1783.
- 2 Rosine Rapp, geb. 10. Februar 1786.

Zu den Photographien bemerke ich (der Abschreiber):

Auf dem Bild I. steht das Wohnhaus, soweit bekannt zugleich auch Geburtshaus des Johann Georg Rapp, gross in der Mitte, so dass die drei Fenster an der Giebelseite gegen die Strasse und die zwei Fenster an der Langseite die Wohnräume bilden. (Die hintere Seite mit dem Blumenbrett vor den Fenstern ist wieder eine eigne Wohnung, wenigstens jetzt.) Wo jetzt die beiden Dachläden sind an der Giebelseite unter dem Nistkästchen (Maisenkästchen) einer offen, einer geschlossen, seien damals auch Fenster eingesetzt gewesen und diese Kammer bildete dann Rapps Studier- und Meditationsstube, wo er seine Erleuchtungen erhielt.

Auf dem Bild II. ist das Haus Rapps mit dem Bleistiftstrich angedeutet, wieder an dem Nistkästchen kenntlich aufgenommen, wie es im „Hintergässle“ unseres Dörfleins steht. Dabei ist das Ort von Südost gegen Nordwest aufgenommen.

Auf der Ansichtskarte III. die von Norden nach Süden aufgenommen, ist Rapps Haus nicht mehr sichtbar es würde in der Verlängerung des Pfeils links zwei Häuser breit weiter links stehen.

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